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The Shape of Things

THERE IS A STRONG CONTRAST BETWEEN THE massive and relentless military offensive against the Japanese and the note of hesitancy, almost of appeasement, which has crept into our political warfare. The Allied fleets patrol Japanese shores, striking at will; American fliers monopolize Japanese air, continuing their systematic obliteration of war potential. Enemy radio stations suggest that war-weariness is growing. There are indications of economic disruption and civil unrest. Yet the Japanese government can hardly fail to extract some hope from such American broadcasts as that delivered on July 20 by Captain E. M. Zacharias, Navy expert on Japan. Speaking officially for the United States government, he told the Japanese that they faced two alternatives: "One is the virtual destruction of Japan, followed by a dictated peace. The other is unconditional surrender with its attendant benefits as laid down by the Atlantic Charter." This is very curious phraseology. It suggests an unconditional surrender which will, in fact, be conditional, since it does not involve a "dictated peace"; it also implies more favorable treatment than that obtained by Germany, which was specifically excluded from any rights under the Atlantic Charter. Again, Captain Zacharias declared: "If Japan should initiate the cessation of hostilities without further delay, it may be assumed that it will be the United States which will enforce the formula and insure the peace." This appears to be a warning to Japan to get out of the war before Russia gets in and claims a share in the post-war settlement. But the Japanese may take it as hint that the United States is scarcely less anxious for Soviet participation than they are, and it will thus serve to strengthen their belief that a way out may be found by playing America against Russia. At any rate, ambiguities in our recent policy statements have led them to rejoice in "an American about-face."

*

THE LEGEND OF GENERAL CLAIRE L. CHENNAULT will go down with that of T. E. Lawrence in the romantic military records of our time. Eight years ago he organized the American Volunteer Group—the Flying Tigers—to assist the Chinese armies which were being battered back mile by mile into the interior. He had declared a personal war against Japan when the majority of his fellow citizens were content with a wistful and impotent sympathy for the "gallant Chinese," and other Americans of a more practical bent were cashing in on oil, scrap-iron, and other metal shipments to Japan. In the jargon of high Washington circles, Chennault and his fighters were just "premature anti-Japanese." What they achieved was little short of miraculous. With their group of P-40's they were constantly harassing

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the Japanese supply columns and shipping, raiding airfields, and intercepting Japanese fighters and bombers on their way to Chinese targets. After Pearl Harbor Chennault was given official status with the American army and took command of the 14th Air Force. During the disastrous retreats of 1941 and 1942, when the whole of south-east Asia was overrun by the Japanese, Chennault held on to his base at Kunming and intensified his operations. Since then his has been the directing mind in building up the American Air Force in China.

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WHY THEN WAS GENERAL CHENNAULT DROPPED at the moment when American and Allied might is massing for the knockout blow? The answer seems to be partly personal, partly military, partly political. Chennault, like so many independent military geniuses, is apparently not a man who cooperates well in a complicated military organization. He did not get on with Stilwell, he did not get on with Stratemeyer, who was appointed head of the American Air Forces in China. He was quite firm in his insistence that America's contribution to China should be concentrated on air support and military supplies for the Chinese army. In this he echoed a recent statement of Generalissimo Chiang, to whom he has been personally devoted. It is now quite clear that a mass landing on the China coast is contemplated, and Stilwell's name—probably as legendary in China as Chennault's—is talked of in connection with the top field command. From the point of view of American participation it will be Stilwell's war—not Chennault's. Lastly, there is the political side. Chennault is a Chiang man. The pressure within China and in this country against the reactionary, and militarily inefficient, clique around the Generalissimo has reached its highest point. Just last week the Chinese People's Political Council, which lauded Chennault for his "magnificent contribution" to China, insisted that the November 12 constitutional assembly be delayed and that immediate steps be taken to bring about unity with the Communist-controlled areas. The imminent possibility of Russia's entering the eastern war brings political and military considerations into close juxtaposition. The Chennault phase of our war effort in China has ended: a new phase is about to begin.

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KING LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM, AFTER WEEKS OF vacillation about complying with demands for his abdication, has decided not to decide. He proposes to retain his throne but to stay in exile until after an election or referendum has provided an opportunity for an expression of the national will. In a letter to his brother, Prince Regent Charles, he asserts that the present Parliament, elected before the war, is unrepresentative. He has, he says, received information showing that "a considerable majority in the country insisted on my return." However, although the King's chief support is within the Catholic Party, the largest of the Parliamentary groups, a motion in the Chamber of Deputies to bar his return to Belgium until both houses of Parliament gave their consent, was carried by 98 to 6. Even the conservative Senate endorsed the proposal by 77 to 58. This means that Leopold has by no means all the Catholics with him. Nor has any evidence been presented suggesting that the Parliamentary verdict is contrary to popular sentiment; in fact, there is every indication that a general election would show a farther swing to the left and would probably strengthen the groups which are not only anti-Leopold but anti-monarchist. At present, public hostility appears to be focused on the King personally, because of the dictatorial tendencies he showed before the war and the defeatist attitude he took after the Nazi invasion. The government proposes that he should abdicate in favor of his eldest son, Prince Baudoin, with Prince Charles continuing as Regent until the boy reaches his eighteenth birthday in 1948. However, Leopold's decision to force a political campaign on the constitutional issue may raise the whole question of the monarchy's future. By his stubborn resistance to demands for his abdication, Leopold may be risking his dynasty.

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THE EFFORT TO UNIFY SPANISH REPUBLICAN forces has achieved its first major success. At an extraordinary assembly, two factions of the Left Republicana, a predominantly bourgeois-intellectual party founded by the late President Azana, decided to merge and to "support the constitutional institutions of the Republic." The two groups are Union Republicana Española, until now led by Antonio Velao, Minister of Public Works in the Negrín Cabinet, and the so-called Independents. Both have come under the chairmanship of Mariano Ruiz Funes, last Republican ambassador in Brussels and an eminent professor of penal law. The resolution, adopted unanimously, declared that "they do not consider themselves as represented in the Junta de Liberation and cannot accept the position that the legitimacy and legality of the Spanish Republic can be transferred to entities created in exile by factions in disregard of the people's will." The resolution amounts to an open repudiation of Prieto's *junta* and support of the Negrín government. Over the week-end Negrín conferred with Martinez Barrio and other leaders and denounced the latest changes in the Franco Cabinet as "a sign of the utter decomposition of the Spanish fascist regime which is trying a new disguise every month to prolong the agony." One has only to look at the background of the new ministers, men of distinctly clerical standing, to see that Franco's latest moves are designed to insure the continued support of the Vatican.

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A LOOPHOLE IN THE TAX LAWS WHICH HAS enabled aliens living in this country but legally "non-residents" to avoid taxes on capital gains has been disturbing the Treasury for some time. According to an act passed in 1936, alien visitors were exempt from income tax so long as they did not engage in business—and the buying and selling of securities is not regarded as a business. The intention appears to have been to avoid double taxation and to encourage such visitors to deal on American stock exchanges, and pay transfer taxes, rather than cable orders to their home countries, most of which, in peace time, maintained an active market in American securities. The situation which arose during the war when hundreds of thousands of refugees came to this country on visitors' visas was never contemplated. Since these people could not return home their visas were extended again

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and again. A comparatively small number, with access to funds, have allayed the tedium of exile by playing the market, with conspicuous success. And as non-residents *de jure* they have not been subject to the tax on capital gains levied on citizens—25 per cent when securities have been held over six months and up to 94 per cent, according to the tax bracket, on short-term gains. It is all perfectly legal except in cases—perhaps numerous—where such non-residents have acted as fronts for citizens who have staked them on a profit-sharing basis. But like other forms of legal tax evasion, which keep so many corporation lawyers lucratively employed, it doesn't smell good, and we favor the principle of the bill introduced by Representative James P. Geelan, which proposes to end this privilege of non-residents and make their tax liability retroactive to 1940. At the same time, however, we would point out that only a small fraction of well-heeled foreigners have indulged in profiteering of this kind. Most refugees have arrived here penniless, have set about becoming citizens as rapidly as possible, and have paid taxes on their earnings cheerfully. Their position should not be prejudiced by the greedy few.

*

FILIPINO BAITING IN CALIFORNIA HAS STARTED again, now that final victory in the Pacific seems assured. It was different when Manila fell and Bataan knew its hour of grandeur and agony. Then Filipinos in California enjoyed a novel status—that of friends and allies. They were photographed at flag-presentation ceremonies on the steps of city halls; they spoke from the rostrums of city councils; they were seated at the speakers' tables at non-Filipino banquets. This attitude lasted well into 1944. But now fair weather has diminished West Coast ardor for these late-found friends. Recently California legislators listened attentively while General Carlos Romulo spoke of the dead Americans and Filipinos whose dust could never be separated—and then proceeded to ignore requests that a memorial be sent to Congress urging enactment of legislation making resident Filipinos eligible for naturalization. And still more recently a brief strike of Filipino field hands in the Santa Maria valley provoked an advertisement in the local newspaper warning the Filipinos that the war-time honeymoon was over. The advertisement, which was sponsored by the powerful Economic Council of Santa Maria, said: "At best, Filipinos are guests in the United States. . . . While Americans are dying to free their countrymen from Japanese slavery, the lavish expenditures of money by Filipinos on white women instead of assisting their countrymen is not promoting good-will among Americans. . . . Filipinos want America to build up their homeland and protect them, while their people conduct themselves as strikers are doing in Santa Maria Valley. . . . If the Filipinos act as they have recently, they should be classified with the Japanese; denied renting of land and such, as the Japanese were who also did not act properly as guests in America."

*

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION GALLOPS forward with the terrifying speed of a snail. Ten years ago at its Atlantic City convention it took a firm stand against compulsory health insurance but approved of voluntary budgeting for medical care. This year at its annual convention in Chicago it roundly condemned compulsory health insurance, specifically in the form of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, as "regimentation and totalitarianism" (some doctor has been reading Hayek) but supported increased "hospitalization insurance on a voluntary basis." However, the A. M. A. favored "sustained production leading to better living conditions with improved housing, nutrition, and sanitation, which are fundamental to good health." The doctors agreed to "support progressive action toward achieving these objectives." These are pretty dangerous thoughts, gentlemen. Some of these days one of your members may let slip the blasphemous phrase "social planning," and then the Trojan horse will be inside your impregnable citadel of free enterprise.

*

IN THE SESSION RECENTLY ENDED, CALIFORNIA'S legislature put on a performance that reads like the plot of a Grade B movie, without the happy ending. Governor Warren and the C. I. O. sponsored bills, which differed only in minor details, for compulsory health insurance to be paid for by a 1½ per cent payroll deduction and an equal contribution by employers. The bills were supported by the State Federation of Labor, the California League of Women Voters, and the Parent-Teacher Associations. They were opposed by the California Medical Association, the private hospitals, the insurance companies, the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association, and similar disinterested parties. Members of the legislature allowed themselves to be wined and dined by such groups, lending their uncritical ears to a stream of propaganda as corny as it was irrelevant. "Foreign ideologies," "regimentation," "bureaucrats," "sovietization"—the bills were discussed in such terms almost exclusively. Governor Warren pointed out that 38 per cent of all Californians examined at selective service induction centers were rejected, and estimated on this basis that 1,500,000 citizens of the state are immediately in need of medical service but cannot afford it; also that wage and salary earners in California last year borrowed $11,000,000 from loan brokers, often at exorbitant interest rates, to meet medical, dental, and hospital bills. Facts availed nothing. Governor Warren, who keynoted the Republican national convention in 1944, was accused of spreading Communist doctrines. The public health committee of the Assembly issued a report condemning the bills before the hearing was held; after the hearing it refused to send them to the floor. The Governor sent a message to the Assembly in support of the legislation; under the state constitution he is required to send messages on pending bills. But when Assemblyman A. C. Wallenberg attempted to read it he was ruled out of order by Speaker Charles W. Lyon, who went further and accused the Governor of improper lobbying. In view of the open lobbying that was going on, and in view of the fact that the Assembly voted down a resolution to investigate lobbying, this accusation has a piquant psychological interest.

NEXT WEEK IN *THE NATION*

Harold Laski on the British vote; Charles G. Bolté on Labor, Veterans, and Jobs; J. A. Del Vayo on the coming Mexican election.

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Bretton Woods Wins

DESPITE a last-ditch fight of isolationist Republicans, the Senate has followed the House in approving the Bretton Woods agreements by a decisive majority. By so doing it has repudiated Senator Taft's thesis that "the parallel between political and economic cooperation is fallacious," and has recognized that prosperity is as indivisible as peace. Simultaneously, by voting larger funds for the Export-Import Bank, Congress has provided means of aiding other countries until the Bretton Woods institutions begin operations.

Senator Taft's performance as leader of the opposition has drawn plaudits from the conservative columnists, who allege that he showed much more knowledge of the subject than those on the other side. Undeniably he had studied the Bretton Woods documents in a search for debating points, but his speeches made it very plain that he had no grasp of the fundamentals of the international monetary situation. For instance, one of the amendments he moved sought to prohibit members of the International Fund from using it to obtain the currencies of other members until they had removed all exchange restrictions on current transactions. Actually the statutes of the Fund provide for the elimination of such restrictions within five years, and one of its short-term objectives is to tide over the difficult transition period nations which have been forced to resort to controls to protect their currencies. Mr. Taft, blandly ignoring the conditions which make such restrictions necessary, proposes in effect to deny medicine to sick economies until they are cured.

It is clear, for instance, that the passage of this amendment would have excluded Britain from participation in the Fund. For Britain cannot possibly forego exchange controls for several years. It has contracted a huge foreign debt during the war, and its exports have shrunk to little more than 30 per cent of their 1938 volume. Until it has rebuilt its foreign trade and so begun to earn foreign currencies on a scale commensurate with its normal import needs, it must protect its exchange reserves. If it were to allow free dealings now, enabling anyone who tendered pounds to the Bank of England to buy dollars, or pesos, or kroner with them, the market would become glutted with sterling and its value drastically depreciated. "We emerge from the struggle," said the British Chancellor of the Exchequer recently, "with . . . a balance-of-payments problem such as we have never before had to face." The virtue of Bretton Woods is that it offers Britain and other countries in the same plight a method of solving their problems on an international instead of a national basis.

It is very much to our interest that they should be solved on such a basis, for to no country is the restoration of multilateral trading and free exchanges so important as it is to the United States. We are seeking, as Robert Chandler points out on another page, to expand our exports enormously and so take care of our surplus production. We cannot do this if the conditions obtaining before the war, when international trade was rapidly being reduced to terms of barter, are not changed. The United States, for instance, is in a poor position to make bilateral deals since it exports more than it imports. Suppose the only way we could do business with Britain was by a direct exchange of goods. In 1938 American exports to Britain were valued at $448 million; imports from Britain at $80 million. To achieve a balance, therefore, we would either have to cut down our sales to Britain drastically or accept a much larger volume of British goods, or both. In any case we would be unlikely to achieve an increase in exports.

Similarly, in the international monetary field America is in the position of a man who has won all the chips at poker. If he wants to go on playing he has got to help the other boys make their stakes; otherwise they are likely to go off and play a different game. If the rest of the world, or any important section of it, decided to carry on currency transactions in an unorthodox manner, the United States would be badly situated. As the one country in the world with its currency firmly attached to gold, it cannot easily play the game of competitive currency depreciation. If Britain cut the sterling exchange rate from $4 to $3, thus making its goods relatively cheaper in foreign markets, we could, of course, reduce the gold content of the dollar in an effort to depreciate to a similar extent. But this would not necessarily affect the sterling-dollar relationship; if the British choose to peg sterling to the dollar rather than to gold, they can fix the ratio at whatever figure is convenient to them. The only retaliatory action open to America would be to cease buying foreign gold at a fixed price. But that would mean the end of the gold standard, a collapse in the value of the metal, and the reduction of the Fort Knox hoard to comparative worthlessness.

Considering, then, that the alternatives to restoration of multilateral trade and free exchanges would be much worse for America than they would be for some other countries, it might be just as well not to talk of the American contributions to Bretton Woods as if they were charitable donations. The International Fund and the International Bank have, in fact, been tailored to American needs. They involve an investment of dollars in an opportunity to restore international trade by methods which will not interfere with America's chosen system of free enterprise and will not freeze American goods out of foreign markets.

We say an opportunity; but it is perfectly true that the opportunity can be lost unless the Bretton Woods program is supplemented by agreements which will enable the trading nations to balance their international accounts *at a high level.* If this is to be achieved, America must not merely call upon other nations to abandon discrimination and lower their trade barriers; it must reduce its own likewise. Eventually it must be prepared not merely to import as much as it exports but more, so as to be able to accept payments of interest and principal on the loans it makes. A country cannot be both an international creditor and a net exporter of goods unless it wants to lose its shirt and bankrupt its debtors. The opposition to Bretton Woods has constantly insinuated that no trust can be put in the pledges of other countries to make the plan operative by abandoning their exchange controls as rapidly as possible. We shall do well to remember that our good faith is also involved. Bretton Woods obligates us to put our foreign trade on a two-way basis. If we do this we shall probably find other nations willing to do their part.

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MacArthur's Private Preserve

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

GENERAL MACARTHUR came back to the Philippines, just as he said he would. He came back and tucked the islands in his pocket. They are his private sphere of influence, and the people of the United States know less about what is going on there than they do about events in Greece or Rumania. Considerably less. Never were the Philippines more completely cut off from the world—even while they were locked in the isolation of Japanese control, even when they were blanketed under the smoke of battle. The battle is over now and the Japanese are dead except for a few who still survive in remote mountain hideouts. But MacArthur's censorship goes right on.

We have heard a great deal in recent months about the "closed" areas of Eastern Europe dominated by Russia. Truman and Churchill are said to be urging Stalin at Potsdam to permit free access to Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia by American and British newspapermen. It is time such a demand was made. And I hope Stalin will promptly accede to it, asking only, in exchange, that Britain permit Russian and other correspondents freely to report developments in Greece, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt, and that the United States invite the world press to see—and tell—what is happening in the Philippines Commonwealth. It would be a healthy change all around.

Until this agreement is reached, however, we shall have to scrabble for facts about the Philippines. Occasionally a few leak through the censorship and find their way into print. This week *The Nation* is able to publish two articles which give a first-hand picture of American methods of control in those islands so lately rescued from enemy domination. They will shock many readers. We are not, I think, prepared for a Greece in our own back yard. We have been told true stories about the magnificent cooperation of the Filipino guerrillas in the reconquest of the islands, and no stories at all about their rapid and ruthless liquidation. We know that a good Philippine patriot, Sergio Osmeña, succeeded Quezon as President, and we have not heard how limited are his actual powers or how careful the MacArthur control has been to protect him from his left-wing supporters by throwing them wholesale into prison. We Americans like to congratulate ourselves over our record in the Philippines. I hope a careful reading of these articles will jolt a few of us out of our complacency. We cannot afford any holier-than-thou attitudes. What the British have been doing in Greece to preserve the defenses of their empire, our military authorities are doing in the Philippines, for reasons not so very different. They are repressing or wiping out the men who formed the tough fighting corps of the liberation movement, and by doing so are shoving into the foreground the old crew of professional politicians, Franco sympathizers, and clerical fascists. Nor is the situation one to look upon with detached disapproval. It is a challenge to action. For the Philippines are not yet free. They are the direct, immediate responsibility of the United States, and what happens there depends upon the people of this country even more than upon the Filipinos.

The trouble is partly political, partly economic, and the second complicates the first. The economic situation is so desperate that Osmeña, a decent man but a weak one, is unable to make an effective stand for his moderately liberal ideas. He began by putting resistance leaders in the Cabinet and ousting the collaborationists. Little by little, as conditions grew worse, the right moved in, urging that collaborationists be forgiven and restored to office, maneuvering to get rid of the guerrilla influence. And Osmeña yielded. Perhaps he might have held out if he had been able to get any promise of substantial continuing economic support from the United States. None was available.

As everybody knows, the Philippines will automatically become "independent" on July 4, 1946, unless the date is changed. But independence will be without meaning unless the Philippines are helped, first, to rescue their towns from the devastation created by American bombs and Japanese armies in retreat, and second, to establish an economy that can ultimately survive without a protected market in America. Nothing has been done on the job of rehabilitation, although Senator Tydings recently made a special survey of the islands, reported "indescribable" conditions of suffering and physical destruction, and proposed that the United States make a gift of $100,000,000 to the Philippines to be used for reconstruction under the direction of army engineers. The army is supposed to relinquish its civil functions on September 1 but it is the only organized body which has at its disposal relief supplies, warehouses, transportation facilities. When it withdraws no civil authority stands ready to assume responsibility. The Commonwealth government has neither the material nor the political strength to take the emergency measures the situation will demand. The Rehabilitation Commission appointed a year ago by Congress, under the chairmanship of Senator Tydings, seems not to be functioning, and the other United States agencies on the islands, such as the FEA, the War Damage Corporation, and the Treasury, are helpless without some authority to coordinate their functions. Nothing will be accomplished until a High Commissioner is appointed to head up the whole job.

Even more important, if less pressing, is the need of long-range plans to carry the Philippines through the initial phases of their independence without economic collapse. Independence will mean chaos unless the islands are helped toward a diversified economy that can eventually stand on its own feet. In the eleven years since the Act of Independence was passed, nothing has been done to change the feudal plantation system which is completely dependent on the American market. On the contrary, the land-owning interests have hung on grimly, hoping that some good fate would intervene to save them from the penalties of freedom. Now that the day of independence draws near they still look for relief through a prolonged period of protected trade. And it is a fact that unless some such plan is provided, the Filipinos will starve. But it is a fact that if the present preferential arrangements are continued, the landowners will never voluntarily diversify crops, pay decent wages, or accept any

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other reforms to make the islands more nearly self-sufficing.

Such changes will occur only if the progressive political elements get into power. The resistance fight brought those elements together and gave them hope and a common program. The collapse of that hope under the repressive measures taken by the army has aroused dangerous resentment among the people. Only an early shift to civilian control with a liberal High Commissioner will prevent disorder and open the way to democratic solutions of the problems that harass the islands. It is time to end the MacArthur dictatorship.

What's Left of the Jews

BY MEYER LEVIN

BEFORE the war there were sixteen million Jews in the world. Little more than half are left. Nobody really believes in the annihilation of the Jews of Europe. There are certain facts so massive that the human mind for a long time rejects them, and this has happened with the story of European Jewry. The survivors themselves, after living these years within the massacre, don't believe their own knowledge of its completeness.

In a village near Weimar I met a man who had escaped from one of the last columns marched out of Buchenwald. For three hours, sitting on his pallet on a factory floor, he told me about the two years he had worked on the Auschwitz train platform, where Jews had arrived for extermination. He estimated that he had seen four million arrive; he knew that only one in ten was selected for slavery, the rest went to the gas chambers. He knew that the chosen slaves had about one chance in a thousand of living more than a year. Two years ago he had seen his own sister arrive on a death train. And yet, after speaking to me only of death —death in Auschwitz, death on the icy trains, death on the road marches, death in the work camps—this man seized my arm and said, "You go to all the concentration camps, you see all who remain alive—write down the name of my sister. Perhaps you will find her. Perhaps she has survived."

Of all the survivors I talked to, none was without a story of sisters, brothers, mother, father gone, and yet none ever said these loved ones were dead unless he had actually seen them killed. "They were taken to Drancy, and from there deported"; "I heard of him last in Warsaw, but from there he may have been deported." Always they spoke as though myriads of Jews might somewhere yet be found alive as we went farther into Germany.

Finally we had been through all Germany, and found only the remnants in the concentration camps, and the few dozens in each city, and the scattered survivors of the last trains that started from Buchenwald and Auschwitz toward the Alps and halted wherever they ran out of fuel, while the guards shot a few last Jews and seized automobiles and fled from the approaching Americans.

It has been estimated that there are a million and a quarter Jews alive in Europe outside of Russia. This estimate may not stand, for the Poles in renewed pogroms are killing off the few hundred thousand who escaped the Nazis, out of Poland's four million Jews. Moreover, twelve thousand of those found alive in Bergen Belsen died after the camp was liberated, and after six weeks were still dying at the rate of fifty a day.

A million and a quarter people form a considerable community; this is nearly twice as many Jews as there are in Palestine. How can it be said, then, that European Jewry has been wiped out?

You have to look at those who are left. I looked for Jews all through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany; I sought them in every concentration camp; I hunted survivors on the roads where they had scattered from the last death trains. I've seen what is left of them in the west, and in Prague I talked with a man who as a member of the Czech mission for displaced persons had followed the Russian armies and sought surviving Jewish communities. I pooled my information with Dr. Rosenberg's, to arrive at the total picture.

About half of the remaining Jews of Europe are in Rumania. Though the Iron Guardists and their followers were violently anti-Semitic throughout the rise of fascism, the 600,000 Jews of Rumania were never seized for slaughter; they therefore form the only intact European Jewish community outside of Russia.

Numerically, the Polish Jews come next. Dr. Rosenberg estimates that from 200,000 to 300,000 are still alive. They are scattered, starved, and in constant fear of pogroms. Poland was the ever-living well, the source of Judaism in modern times. The Jews of Poland were the real Jews; they thought of themselves only as Jews; and though they were despised and reviled, though they were hated even by sections of their own race, such as the German Jews, they were nevertheless the source of Jewish vitality. Westernized Jews detested the old-fashioned pious Poles with their long caftans and ear curls, the peddlers and beggars who were the characters of anti-Semitic cartoons. French, Belgian, and Dutch Jews charged that it was the Polish Jews, swarming westward, who were the cause of the new anti-Semitism. Well, the last ghettos have been burned. From General Bor himself I heard of the incredible fight put up by the young Jews of the Warsaw ghetto, and that the ghetto now is only a large burned area in the middle of the city. Yet there is still anti-Semitism, a new and fresh anti-Semitism, all through Europe.

After the Polish come the Hungarian Jews; they have a higher percentage of survivors since they were the last to be rounded up for elimination. Nearly 150,000 in and around Budapest were not gathered in, and the others—those who survived the Auschwitz ordeal—suffered less than a year of slavery. Wherever groups of Jewish factory slaves were found, Hungarians predominated; the Poles had had more time to die.

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In two places near Leipzig I encountered groups of a thousand Hungarian girls. They were emaciated—stylishly thin, as they wryly put it—and their fingers were yellow from war chemicals, but they were still young and alive. Each had a faint hope that some member of her family had also survived; each wanted to return to Hungary long enough to find out her family's fate. But live there? No, they could not imagine going back to live among the people who had let this be done to them.

In France, of 350,000 Jews, 175,000 survived. The French people as a whole were sympathetic during the German occupation and helped Jews to hide; but now the atmosphere is different. Every Jew who returns to Paris and tries to recover his apartment, or his business, or his job has to displace a Frenchman, and though the law declares that the victims of Nazism shall have their belongings restored, each returning Jew faces a court battle, and in each case a new little circle of anti-Semites is created. Some new tenants' organizations, such as the Locataires de Bonne Foi, have urged their members to use force to prevent Jews from moving back into their apartments; even returning soldiers—propagandized in German prison camps—have demonstrated against Jewish shopkeepers. Anti-Semites say the Jews took no part in the resistance movement; but all-Jewish companies fought in the Battle of Paris, there were all-Jewish groups in the maquis, and thousands of other Jews were active in the resistance movement everywhere, though not identified as Jews.

This same bitter aftermath is found in Slovakia, where Jews fought as partisans and then returned to their villages only to find a hatred so great that, in the words of a former Jewish partisan leader, it became "impossible to live in an atmosphere so anti-Semitic."

In Belgium, where the Jewish population shrank from 90,000 to 23,000, the community leaders told me that though they were making the most energetic attempts at readjustment, the Jews were encountering an anti-Semitism that had not existed before. "What can we expect? The population was subjected to years of concentrated propaganda. Victory does not erase this." In Holland, of 140,000 Jews, some 25,000 remain. Anti-Semitism was previously unknown. But when the little Jewish community in Maastricht tried to arrange a Purim festival for American Jewish soldiers, they were advised to omit it, lest the report of the celebration add fuel to the rising feeling against Jews.

In the Duchy of Luxembourg the old and prosperous Jewish settlement has dwindled to a few hundred. Dr. Henry Cerf of the SHAEF mission told me that a number of Jews had come in from France and Belgium but had found so much hatred where there had been none before that they had despaired and wandered back westward.

Even in the concentration camps anti-Semitism was fostered to such a point that when Chaplain Eichhorn attempted to hold an open-air service for the Jews of Dachau, the newly formed self-governing committee of the camp declared that such a service would lead to disorders.

The effect of persecution has been to drive the survivors to extremes: either they have become Jews in a more positive sense than ever before, or they have decided to lose their identity as Jews. The man who is led to affirm his Jewishness is convinced that his miraculous survival is proof that he was always completely right in all his beliefs and principles: thus the orthodox Jew is more zealous than ever in his orthodoxy; the Zionist upholds more strongly his particular sectarianism, be it labor Zionism or political Zionism or cultural Zionism; and while the Communists, the Zionists, and the religious bodies in the surviving communities work together on ameliorative projects, they have little inner unity as Jews. Those who have concluded that being a Jew is not worth the price are constantly slipping away from the community. Day after day in the *Journal Officiel* one finds columns of notices of Cohens and Levys who have changed their names to Dumont and Bontemps.

Drawing by Giacomo Patri

In Italy several thousand Jews are reported to have followed a converted rabbi into the Catholic church; in France, where there has always been active proselytizing among the Jews, the movement has noticeably increased. Many Catholics made a definite effort to retain in the faith the Jewish children who had been confided to them for safekeeping. I witnessed an actual struggle betewen a priest and a rabbi for the souls of several hundred children. The priest, who alone knew where the children had been placed, maintained that he would have to secure the order of some living relative of these children before he could give them back to the Jewish community. He finally agreed that if no relatives could be found, the children would be returned.

It is charged that up to 3,000 children have thus been lost to Judaism in France. This is a large number when one realizes that there are exceedingly few Jewish children left in Europe. Some 6,000 children were hidden in France by various underground organizations; perhaps an equal number were hidden by their parents, in direct placement. Beyond these, scarcely more than a thousand were found in the concentration camps, mostly in the fourteen-to-eighteen-year age group, though so stunted and starved that they were six years under age. There is no Jewish generation under fourteen. These children were destroyed.

The destruction of the Jews was most complete in Germany itself. In each city I found a dozen, perhaps a hundred, survivors living in the remaining official Jewish houses, one family to a room. In Leipzig I found exactly 16 of a former 16,000. Only Jews married to non-Jews had been permitted to remain, and of these marriages only the children who professed Christianity were alive. During the last months even Jews married to Gentiles had been seized. In each city, a doctor, a lawyer, and a community head had been left. It seemed to be generally expected that a great many Jews would "come out of hiding" after the Nazi

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defeat. Their number is insignificant; I doubt that it totals 500 for all Germany, where some 4,000 have survived.

About 4,000 Jews were found alive in Buchenwald, 5,000 in Dachau, 12,000 in Bergen Belsen—perhaps 50,000 in all the camps. With the exception of the young Hungarians found in factory enclaves, nearly all the survivors are suffering from physical and mental exhaustion which must have a permanent effect. What shall be done with them? Some have been repatriated to France and Czechoslovakia, but the Poles protest bitterly against being sent "home." What do the Jews in the camps ask for themselves?

A small percentage know they want to go to Palestine, and they are the luckiest, for they have a specific objective and a will to live. The one cheerful hour in all my time among Jews was spent in a barracks in Bergen Belsen, where a dozen youngsters sang Hebrew songs, of Palestine. The mass of survivors have no clear hope for the future. "We are too weak, too tired; we can endure no more struggle in our lives," they say. "We need only some place where we can live out our years." A large proportion have relatives outside Europe with whom they hope to get in touch, but few have exact addresses. Contacts will be difficult to make, and then the cry will be raised against Jewish immigration, as though these few thousands were hordes of undesirables. For most of the survivors the obvious solution is Palestine; yet there are already complaints that the sickly products of the concentration camps are unfit material for the upbuilding of that land. And of course there will be a campaign against a "flood of Jews" directed toward Palestine, and there will be Zionists making calculations about how many millions Palestine can absorb. It will be forgotten that there are no millions to come. If Palestine cannot give immediate refuge to the few thousand survivors of the concentration camps, that is indeed the last miserably ironic comment on what world politics has done to the Zionist ideal.

Outside the camps, and outside Rumania, some half-million scattered Jews will make an effort to adjust and resettle in their previous lands; most of them can perhaps still find a way to live as Jews in France, Belgium, and Holland, though in the coming years they may seek either to assimilate or to emigrate.

With the well of Europe so dry, the threat of Jewish "domination" in Palestine is deflated. The millions who might have pressed in from Poland are dead. The Jews of Russia and the United States are not likely to emigrate to Eretz Israel. When all the scattered refugees in the Russian area and in ours are registered, it may turn out that there are some hundreds of thousands for whom Palestine should offer a solution. Still, the ever-renewing sources of Jewish population are gone. The continuing stream of emigration must run dry. It looks as if the Jewish population of Palestine must level off and depend chiefly on its birth rate for increase. In this, it is always behind the Arabs. Thus there is no real population threat to the Arabs of Palestine. This knowledge should dampen the growing conflict there.

The heart of Jewish culture, it seems to me, is now definitely in Palestine; the greatest population is in the United States. Jewish casualties in the war—not in proportion but in actual numbers—are as large as those of the great nations. Seven million Jews were slaughtered for being Jews, and added to this number are the Jewish casualties in all the Allied armies.

It is common knowledge that anti-Semitism is rising in this country. In a large sense, the fate of the Jewish people will be decided here.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

BRYAN WILL AND WILL NOT win his fight for prohibition; Mr. Wilson will dominate the convention, he will not dominate it; he will dictate the platform and not the nomination; he will dictate the nomination and not the platform; he and Mr. McAdoo will and will not accept the nomination—with these delightfully positive assurances from San Francisco and dozens of others the American people are being regaled as we go to press.—*July 3, 1920.*

EXCEPT FOR the authorization of a war with the Turkish Nationalists, the conference of the Allied Premiers at Boulogne appears to have accomplished little that is definitive.—*July 3, 1920.*

THE COLLAPSE of Herbert Hoover as the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of numberless Americans disgusted with the political game as played by the major parties is pathetic. To a great section of the more liberal electorate, especially to the newly-enfranchised women, Hoover appeared the man of the hour. . . . That he threw away his opportunity [by indorsing the Republican platform as "constructive and progressive"] can only in a slight degree be laid to political ineptitude.—*July 3, 1920.*

PRECISELY as the Republican convention turned at the end to the weakest candidate [Harding], so has the Democratic [Cox]. . . . Any hope of a stimulating campaign pregnant with great issues vigorously presented, or with a program of genuine social and economic reform, vanishes into thin air. . . . Between the twin evils of the fruits of the Republican and Democratic conventions *The Nation* declines to choose. —*July 10, 1920.*

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION did well to nominate Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for the Vice-Presidency, for a finer type is not to be found in our public life.—*July 17, 1920.*

COLONEL HOUSE believes that if Poland succumbs to Russian invasion Germany too will turn Bolshevist. He thinks that the Germans would hail the Russians as liberators. It is doubtless true that the dictated peace terms have driven many conservative Germans in their despair and bitterness to such a pass; it is also true that large masses of radical German workingmen are heart and soul Bolsheviki. But the present German government is of a different cast; it is dominated by men of the Stinnes type—millionaire captains of industry who believe that they can and will restore the old industrial Germany.—*July 31, 1920.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Count Bernstorff, "My Three Years in America"; Upton Sinclair, "The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism."

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A.M.G.—the Soviet Way

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

THE almost total blackout of news in the Soviet-occupied portions of Germany is slowly being lifted. With the influx of Allied correspondents into Berlin, the recent revival of political life in the shattered German capital, and a slight relaxation of Russian secrecy, the picture is coming into focus. News from the vast hinterland—and that includes practically all of the former Third Reich between the Bay of Mecklenburg and the Sudeten—continues scant, but occasionally a significant bit of information comes through, by way, perhaps, of an article in a Soviet newspaper, a controlled German broadcast, a story published in Sweden or Switzerland. These are not wholly reliable sources, but added together the items enable us to hazard at least a preliminary answer to the questions: What are the Russians doing in Germany? How does their Military Government compare with ours?

In purpose the programs of the four Allied forces of occupation in Germany differ very little. They all are determined to eradicate Nazism, Junker rule, and militarism. They all hope eventually to bring the Germans back into the international fold on a basis of peace, cooperation, and democracy. The methods by which these lofty ideals are to be put in practice are less uniform. There are minor divergences in the British and American ways of handling a given situation; the French, in some respects, are going their own way; but the schism between the eastern and western conceptions of Military Government is profound. Roughly speaking, one might say that the Russians intend to reform Germany by working with the people; we, by working without, or even against, the people. As regards Nazism, the Russians rub it out; we "rub it in."

Soviet policy toward a defeated Germany has not always been as clear as it is today. For several years the Kremlin seemed to pursue a wavering course, apparently agreeing one moment with Ilya Ehrenburg and the next with the "Free Germany Committee" in Moscow. Ehrenburg, by international standards the greatest publicist ever produced by the Soviet regime, stands for an extreme policy of hatred and revenge. His views on the Germans and what to do with them can be summed up in William L. Shirer's "They're all guilty—punish them." The Free Germany Committee, however—that peculiar combination of orthodox German Marxists and Junker generals which proved so effective an instrument of psychological warfare against Hitler—assured their Gestapo-ridden countrymen by broadcasts and leaflets that they need only overthrow the Nazi regime to receive Russia's outstretched hand of friendship.

For years the two conflicting lines of propaganda found expression in the Soviet press and radio. Then, a few weeks before the German surrender, a remarkable thing happened. In an article published in *Pravda* on April 14, Ehrenburg's extreme views on the Germans were publicly slapped down by the Soviet Propaganda Chief, G. Alexandrov, in a manner which, a few years ago, would probably have meant arrest and deportation, if not worse, for their author. Ehrenburg's defeat, however, did not mean complete triumph for the "Free Germans." Not much has been heard from them since the armistice. Contrary to apprehensions which early this year were widespread in this country, no share in the administration of Germany has been given to the repentant Junker generals, von Paulus, von Seydlitz, and company. Of the original civilian members of the committee only two have thus far been given executive positions of importance: Erwin Hörnle, a former Communist Reichstag deputy from Stuttgart, has been appointed vice-president of the Brandenburg provincial administration; and Hans Mahle, Communist Youth leader from Hamburg, is now in charge of the radio department of the Berlin City Council.

With commendable political acumen, the Russians have made a point of installing in office some of the courageous Germans who were actively involved in the plot against the Nazi regime that aborted on July 20, 1944. Andreas Hermes, one of the few surviving ringleaders of that conspiracy, is the new deputy mayor of Berlin; Jacob Kaiser, a political associate of Hermes, figures prominently in the revived Trade Union Council.

The Russians do not play up military government the way the Americans do. The Red Army is conspicuous, because a show of force is indispensable at this stage, but its administrative apparatus is not. The tendency clearly is to pick trustworthy Germans and let them run their country on all levels except the highest; and not to hamper their work needlessly by consistent and deliberate humiliation.

In the political field the "totalitarian" Russians have evinced far greater liberalism than the democratic Americans. In Bavaria as in the Rhineland, AMG has installed unpopular, reactionary, and clerical regimes, including a number of thoroughly discredited Nazi helpers, and any demonstration against the administration has been ruthlessly suppressed. In Cologne, late last May, American troops were used to dispel thousands of Social Democrats and Communists demonstrating against the Centrist (Catholic) Mayor Konrad Adenauer, who had stuffed the municipal administration with his clerical friends. In Dachau an anti-Nazi group demanding the four freedoms was forcibly disbanded on orders from Colonel Charles Keegan, military governor of Bavaria, on the theory that the Germans, as a conquered nation, had no right to demand anything!

Not so the Russians. Within six weeks of the fall of Berlin, Marshal Gregory K. Zhukov authorized the recreation of all anti-fascist political parties, and subsequent events have proved that this was not an empty promise. The Communist Party was reconstituted on June 25, the Social Democrats have reformed their cadres, and two brand-new parties have opened shop. One of these, the Christian Democratic Union, is but a variation of the old Catholic Cen-

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ter with the admixture of some liberal elements; the other group, the "Liberal Democrats," appears to pick up where the former Democratic Party, or State Party, left off.

All this was done before the Allies' entry into Berlin. The haste with which some of these parties were formed indicates that both the Russians and the Germans wanted to have an accomplished fact before their democratic friends from the west could raise the "Verboten!" cry. The British and American authorities in Berlin will hardly be able to undo what the Russians have done unless they wish to see a democratic underground operating in the western and southern parts of the city from headquarters in the eastern section.

In keeping with the "popular front" formula which the Russians are favoring everywhere in Eastern Europe, the four anti-Nazi parties now functioning in Berlin formed a coalition as soon as they were organized. Only July 16 the Berlin press—each of the new parties already has its daily paper—published the joint program of this coalition, which is called the "Anti-Fascist Democratic Union." It was, almost word for word, the same program which Colonel Keegan in Bavaria had outlawed on the ground that Germans "had no rights."

The new City Council of Berlin has considerable political variety. Its head, Lord Mayor Arthur Werner, is a man of conservative leanings but inexperienced in party politics; his deputy, the aforementioned Hermes, formerly a leading member of the Center, is now prominent in the Christian Democratic Union. Only one or two Council members are Social Democrats—not an adequate representation of this once great party. A Catholic priest, Father Peter Buchholz, is in charge of religious matters.

Communist influence in the Council is strong. A former member of the Prussian Diet, Paul Schenck, is second deputy mayor. Ottomar Geschke, former Reichstag deputy and a member of the party's executive committee, is in charge of social welfare. Education has been intrusted to a Communist editor, Otto Winzer; radio is controlled by a former Communist youth leader, as was said above. Probably the most significant appointment, however, is that of Arthur Pieck as head of the personnel department; he is the son of Wilhelm Pieck, leader of the German Communist Party.

A real surprise was the appointment of Dr. Ferdinand Sauerbruch, world-famous surgeon who treated Hindenburg and Hitler, as director of Berlin's health services. It was probably the inclusion of this controversial figure in the City Council which gave rise to reports that the Russians were using some former Nazis in high posts. As a matter of fact, Sauerbruch's record is not yet clear.

In the economic sphere there is not the slightest trace of "bolshevism," though a drastic agricultural reform is in

DAY AFTER

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progress, especially east of the Oder River. Much of the territory in which this reform is being carried out is claimed by Poland. In the cities, only Nazi property is being confiscated.

Free trade and the profit system were restored by the Soviet authorities as early as May 19, and the manifesto of the German Communist Party, published on June 25, explicitly subscribed to these measures. Banks and stores are open—though, of course, business isn't exactly brisk. Many of the former bank directors and corporation executives are now cleaning streets and living on scant rations—not, however, because they were business magnates, but because they were active Nazis.

In some provincial cities—Stralsund, Rostock, Greifswald, among others—a semblance of economic life was achieved much more quickly than in devastated Berlin. Public utilities and communications were restored in many places in a surprisingly short time. By June 3 the Russians had trains running on two trunk lines which had been severely bombed—Berlin-Stettin and Berlin-Frankfurt.

Food rations in the Soviet zone of occupation have been consistently larger than in western and southern Germany—not only because greater supplies were available, but also because the Russians do not think that starving the Germans will make them more democratic.

The opening of schools in the American zone of occupation is proceeding at a snail's pace and with something more than necessary caution. By contrast, the Soviets have granted permission not only for elementary schools but also for high schools to resume their courses. The Russians were about to open Berlin's colleges—the University, Technical College, and the College of Commerce—but desisted in deference to their Western allies, who had requested postponement of the measure. If our AMG experts have their way, German universities will stay closed for at least a year.

In the Russian zone theaters, opera houses, movies, and even night clubs are open; sports events are being organized, with German and Russian teams sometimes facing each other; the radio provides entertainment as well as indoctrination. Under the American concept of AMG there is to be no surcease from repentance. Atrocity pictures, doleful music, and unending radio sermons are the only cultural fare allowed.

The Russians are not being soft with the Germans, just sensible. They are dealing severely with Nazis and war criminals, but they know that many millions of Germans will be left and that even though Germany has been beaten and disarmed, it will continue to be a factor to reckon with in the affairs of Europe. In Russia's blackest hour—on February 23, 1942—Stalin made a statement which still apparently guides Soviet policy. "It would be ridiculous," he said, "to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state. History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain."

Failure Again in India

BY UMA SHANKAR

THE failure of the Simla conference and of Lord Wavell's efforts to reconstitute his Executive Council to include acknowledged Indian leaders was not unexpected. It must not be taken to mean that the Indians cannot get together or that India is not fit for self-government.

To the question of self-government or freedom for India the Wavell plan had no relevance. It made no change in the constitutional set-up, as the White Paper itself acknowledged. The Viceroy retained his absolute power in the shape of the veto. The checkerboard of princes and princelings was kept, and they remained beyond the jurisdiction of the Executive Council. The Wavell plan was purely an interim measure, without prejudice, as it said, to the future constitution of India. All that was envisaged was the replacement of the political pariahs who constitute the present Executive Council by Indian political leaders.

It would be completely false to say that the Simla conference broke down because Indians could not agree. In fact, the vast majority of Indians, at least as represented by the acknowledged leaders of the various parties, did agree. The Indian National Congress, the largest and most representative party in India, drawing support from all groups and including a large number of Moslems, accepted the plan. The Sikhs accepted it; and so did the depressed classes. Not even the Moslem League rejected it. But the Moslem League did refuse—or rather Mr. Jinnah, its leader, refused—to concede that any other party represented any of the ninety million Moslems of India. Specifically, he refused to cooperate in the formation of a new Executive Council unless all its Moslem members were chosen from his party.

Jinnah's claim that the league represents 90 per cent of the Moslems of India is false. In the first place he has no way of substantiating his claim. No estimate of the strength of the Moslem League can be formed except on the basis of the results of the 1936 election. At that time Jinnah's party did not gain a majority in any of the larger provinces, not even in those in which a majority of the population is Moslem, such as Bengal and the Punjab, and in the predominantly Moslem North West Frontier Province the Congress Party received a majority large enough to form a Ministry. Other facts available to the Simla conference also refute Jinnah's claim. The Moslem Premier of the Punjab, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, who commands the support of a majority of Moslems in his province, broke away from Jinnah more than a year ago. In Bengal large sections of the Moslem population follow Fazlul Huq, a former Premier, and do not acknowledge Jinnah as their leader. The Shias and Momins, who number millions, sent telegrams to the Moslem president of the Congress Party, Maulana Azad, saying that the Moslem League did not have their support. And

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last, but by no means least, the Congress Party has many Moslem members. All the evidence indicates that the Moslem League does not represent a very large majority of the Moslems, perhaps not even a majority at all. The only basis for Mr. Jinnah's claim is that the British allowed him to wreck the conference.

Lord Wavell very gracefully took the blame for the failure of the conference on himself. In so far as he apparently did not contest the position Jinnah took, at least not by deeds, he is to blame. But the real blame must be assigned to the long line of British viceroys who have followed the policy of divide and rule. The whole thing was started by Lord Morley when he introduced communal electorates and thus made the emergence of a purely communal body such as the Moslem League inevitable. The Congress Party's efforts to build a national organization have been hampered by the same policy. Apparently the British have not changed.

No political solution can be based on communal or religious considerations. Yet these have been the point of departure for every British offer—and the Wavell plan was no exception. It contained one clause that was bound to cause trouble—the stipulation that there should be parity between the Moslems and the caste Hindus. It was a foregone conclusion that a purely communal body like the Moslem League would take the stand that every Moslem member of the Executive Council be from its ranks; otherwise the foundation of its existence would collapse. This clause also ran counter to the principles of the Congress Party, which is a national, not a sectional, organization, with members in every community pursuing the common aim of a free and united India. Nevertheless, the Congress made far-reaching concessions, and demanded only two Moslem seats in the council, conceding three to the Moslem League. If the British wanted a solution they should have had the perspicacity to know that the mention of communities would cause trouble, particularly as they were apparently not prepared to contest the claim of a minority within a minority to block a solution. The Viceroy would have been quite justified if he had ignored Mr. Jinnah and formed a government with the support of Congress and of those Moslems who do not belong to the League. He can still do that. The Moslem League will in that case either split up and some of its members will join the Executive Council, or it will decide to cooperate as a party. It contains too many ambitious politicians who will stay in the wilderness so long as they know they can bargain for advantages. Once they realize that the bargain will be closed without them, they will fall in line.

The British had good reasons for letting Jinnah wreck their scheme besides their traditional policy of playing off one section against another. The Moslem League is a reactionary force, representing landed interests. Furthermore, it opposes a united India, and India can be strong only if united. This suits the British, who for similar reasons support the Indian princes. It may be useful here to inject a point about Pakistan. On the surface Pakistan seems like a democratic solution for the minority problem. In actual fact, it would create more minorities and greater problems. If the scheme were put into effect there would be large Hindu minorities in Pakistan, as well as the Sikhs in the Punjab. There would also be millions of Moslems in Hindu India. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the majority of Moslems support the Moslem League and want Pakistan.

Another reason why the British may be supporting Jinnah is their desire to gain favor with reactionary Moslem elements in the Middle East, where they wish to block possible Soviet influence. At least that reason may be advanced if any member of the British Cabinet questions why Jinnah was allowed to exercise so much power.

Wavell, it is reported on good authority, favored the formation of a new Executive Council whether or not Jinnah cooperated. The reason he did not insist is said to have been his desire to wait until the new government was formed in Britain. If a Labor government gets in, as is quite possible, it is said that Wavell will have more support from London. But nothing startling should be expected from Labor. In the past when it has been in power it has done no more for the freedom of India than have its opponents. No British party can afford to let India have its freedom so long as the British economy is supported by an empire of which India is the keystone.

Regardless of the nature of the British government, and within the framework of the Wavell offer, action is possible without injustice to Jinnah's claims. There have been no elections in India for eight years. If elections were now held, it would be possible to form some estimate of the relative strength of the various parties and to judge Jinnah's claims. Valuable information would be gained even though only a small and relatively well-off section of the Indian population is enfranchised. The plea that the war makes elections impossible does not hold water. For all practical purposes, England is just as close to the war as India.

Some action in India is necessary. It is possible to do anything with the Indian situation, as has been said of bayonets, except sit on it. Because of this urgency Wavell took the unprecedented step of leaving his post and going to England, where he spent two months cajoling the British Cabinet, and particularly Churchill, to move. The problems facing any administration in India are tremendous. More than two million soldiers must be demobilized, soldiers who have seen the British sahib thoroughly beaten in the field and who have learned their own power. The reconversion from war to peace will be difficult and may cause large-scale unemployment. The poverty of the people is appalling, and there is a scarcity of food and clothing. If another famine were to occur, as is always possible in India, things would go badly. Only a government that commands the confidence of the people can handle these problems.

This analysis is confirmed by statements made recently by Jawaharlal Nehru, India's youngest and most progressive leader. India, he observed, was like the liberated European countries, where the resistance movements were coming to the surface. "In spite of the repression which continues in many ways, the spirit of the people has hardened, and it is quite impossible to find a stable solution except on the basis of complete freedom." It should be noted that the Wavell plan was only a possible step to freedom. Nehru pointed out that after the last war demobilization caused many disturbances, which were channeled into the non-cooperation movement of the Congress Party. "Obviously," he continued, "the situation will be much more critical on this occasion, both

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because of the numbers involved and of the vastly greater power of resistance to foreign rule that has developed." Many members of the armed forces, he added with the trace of a smile, were nationalists and "entered the army with the intention of learning to fight so that it would be useful when the time should arise."

Unwarranted conclusions have been drawn from the fact that the Congress Party and the people of India in general welcomed the Wavell plan. The Indians did not accept the plan in lieu of independence but as a step toward independence. Many observers are saying that a new atmosphere of good-will toward Britain has replaced the accumulated bitterness of years. That may be so, but it would be a mistake to capitalize on it. The fact that Wavell allowed Jinnah to wreck the proposals will call British sincerity into question. As Mr. Rajagopalachari expressed it, the Congress Party would never have gone to Simla if it had known that the decision would rest with the Moslem League. There is a new spirit in India today if Nehru and other observers are to be believed. Nehru has warned that there may be revolts; the present mood of Indians, he says, is "To hell with anyone who tries to push us out of the way."

America's Post-War Trade

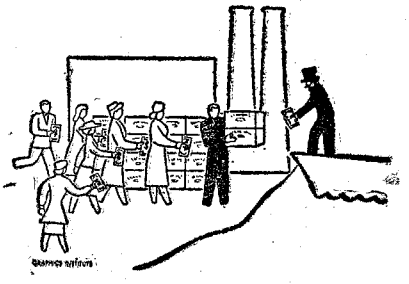
BY ROBERT CHANDLER

I

UPON one thing, at least, liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, spokesmen for business and for government are agreed, and that is that after the war the United States must greatly expand its export trade. Now that the Charter of the world security organization has cleared most of the hurdles confronting it, and Congress has given its blessing both to the extension of reciprocal trade agreements and to the Bretton Woods plan for international monetary stabilization, there is a general feeling that this country is ready to supply the world with everything it needs. Advertisements assure us that one job out of every ten will be in the field of foreign trade. In New York City alone 650 new export firms have been organized to get a share of the business. Since the trade exists *in posse*, it is assumed that it virtually exists *in esse*.

Before we accept this rosy view, it would be well for us to examine a few of the hazards along the path to its realization. That the world can use our goods there is no doubt. That it will do so is questionable. Foreign trade is affected not only by the usual problems of buying and selling but by the additional ones of national sovereignty and international exchange. Today, these latter are extremely serious. Let us consider some of them—first, those which the American trader will encounter at this end of the transaction, and, second, those which he will encounter at the other.

Among the former the first, in time if not in importance, is uncertainty about whether it will be our national policy to set aside part of our production for the export trade in the first months after the end of the war. This is a matter of crucial importance, for though we have, for example, increased our capacity to produce railroad equipment 700 per cent during the war, we shall not be able in the first months after the war to produce more than a trickle of the equipment needed to rehabilitate our own railroads and those of Europe, and to construct roads in South America, Africa, and China. We have the ultimate capacity to produce tremendous quantities, but during the first year we shall not be able to produce enough to meet domestic demands. Will the railroad-equipment companies turn down an order from,



It will be important to set aside part of our initial post-war production for the export trade.

say, the Pennsylvania Railroad, with payment prompt and certain and no problems of shipping space and exchange, in favor of a smaller order from, say, Brazil?

If we are to build up our foreign trade, they will have to do so. Traders from other countries will be in the field trying to sell their goods and offering many inducements, including immediate delivery. The governments of those foreign traders will be helping them, for both traders and government officials know that they must export because they must import. They are not exporting a surplus; they are exporting goods they could use at home in order to buy the basic materials for the reorganization of their economies. England, for example, is already making plans to set aside part of its production for export, and British industry spokesmen are demanding, not that the government take its hands off private business, but that the government get busy and lay down the general principles of export allocations.

Our government is now allowing partial reconversion. If we are planning to develop an export trade, now is the time to establish export allocations. So far as can be discovered, we are doing nothing of the kind. Some government officials may recognize the need, but the cry for the government to "get out of business" is too strong for them to take any action. A long period of education of the public will be necessary first. People are demanding that we avoid the mistakes of 1919—failure to join the League of Nations, raising tariffs—but they do not yet see that it is necessary to meet the new problems of today with new measures. The Bretton Woods plan will provide the mechanism for trade, but how is trade itself to be provided? By repealing the Johnson act we hope to permit other nations to borrow money from us, but unless we greatly stimulate their sales to us,

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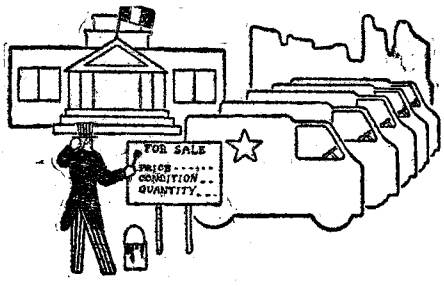
how can they repay these debts any more easily than they could after the last war? Our problem today is to start trade now; to do that we must set aside a certain proportion of goods for our export trade, and at the same time we must restore the economies of our potential customers. No public statement has been made by any responsible person, in or out of government, on what we are doing *now* about these all-important questions.

It is to our interest to have the British recapture their export position, for the empire has always been our best customer, taking around 40 per cent of our exports in pre-war years. But it would not be to our interest to wait for several years after the war's end before trying to enter the market. Buyers by then would have made their connections; and



Disposal of government-owned surplus property in foreign countries will present problems.

moreover no buyer is going to be happy depending upon a seller who will sell only when he has a surplus and forget about his customer when the home demand is great.

Many individual businesses may set aside a portion of their product for the export trade, but there will be no system about it. American manufacturers of farm machinery will almost surely do so; they are accustomed to taking care of their export departments. But we cannot be certain that the right producers will all do this. In fact, the opposite seems probable. The very goods in tight supply here and hence likely to be in greatest demand after the war are in tight supply all over the world.

Another set of problems which will plague our efforts to expand our exports is connected with the disposal of government-owned surplus property in foreign countries. We have great quantities of goods scattered all over the world which we wish to sell on the spot rather than bring back to this country. The idea is a good one. To bring the goods home would use shipping space, flood this country with stuff for which—by definition—we have no use, and deprive the countries where the goods are now stored of things which they very probably could use. Much of the purely military matériel may have no value except as scrap, but many items have peace-time uses—road-building machinery, railroad equipment, clothing (army), mining machinery, insecticides.

With the existing world-wide shortages of all sorts of goods, it would seem that both parties to the transaction would profit by our disposing of such property. But the situation is not quite so simple as it appears. In the first place, how will prices be set? There is no world market now. Shall we sell at original cost, less a percentage for depreciation? But suppose we paid too much for the original product—too much as compared with the price of similar goods two or three years after the war. If foreign purchasers felt this to be true, international bad feeling could easily develop. In the second place, if a foreign country uses any considerable part of its supply of dollar exchange in buying from the United States government, how will our private traders make sales to the traders in that country? We are committed to the reestablishment of private trade, but the sale of surplus government property may make that difficult unless the government continues its foreign procurement policy, and that would mean that the government would be in business—up to its neck.

Possibly the most serious of the problems connected with surplus-property disposal is whether the condition of this property shall be guaranteed. Will the government guarantee that the machine it sells is in good condition? Apparently not. Yet if the buyer finds that it breaks down sooner than he thinks it should—whether because it was originally in poor condition or because he does not have adequate facilities for upkeep—the reputation both of the government and of the private trader will suffer. Already a most unfortunate instance of this has occurred. A private corporation in a certain Latin American country bought from the RFC a four- or five-year supply of surplus capital goods. The corporation, whose name gave the impression that it was a governmental purchasing mission, offered these goods to dealers with a discount rate set so low that the dealer could not profitably do business. There was nothing illegal about the transaction. The RFC sold the goods under its usual terms, with no guaranties, at a price determined by the original cost. The company, which had recently been incorporated, was at liberty to take the name it did. Yet the whole affair was of a sort calculated to arouse distrust of this country.

Can one reasonably expect that the 650 new export firms in New York, all new to the game, all eager to share in the bright future they read about, will have the self-discipline to spend time and money and imagination to create goodwill for all American traders? Many manufacturers are planning to modernize their plants after the war. They will want to sell their used equipment. With government and business telling the exporter that his efforts will bring the high level of employment necessary for continued prosperity, must one not expect to see fly-by-night exporters buy up this second-hand equipment in whatever condition they find it and sell

Our conflicting policies often cancel each other.

it to some foreigner who has been starved for equipment for years? And would this not deal such a blow to our reputation that an exporter from another country who offered new material, with a guaranty, would get the buyer's future business?

One of the things most of the enthusiasts about exports seem to forget is that the foreign trader has a government which is eager to protect his interests, and its own. American government officials talk about the free flow of trade in the world and advocate the removal of trade barriers. But Congress promptly enacts legislation to give subsidies to cer-

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tain producers of basic commodities. Our pronouncements and our practice simply do not hang together, and foreigners are not such fools as not to see this. Our cotton prices are sustained by subsidies far above the world price. Are we likely to bring our practice into accord with our preaching? It seems not—to judge from the Congressional reaction to Will Clayton's far from subversive ideas on letting our cotton prices sink to world prices. Congress is likely to respond to the pressure of special interests and pay subsidies or raise tariffs to help the American producer. Foreign governments respond by tariffs to keep out our goods.

Our individual traders want to get the government out of business.

Actually the United States as a whole—and foreigners see this clearly—has not a policy but policies, and these policies often cancel each other. We are strong advocates of free private trade, but we have the highest tariff walls any creditor nation ever had. We do not like to do business with countries through government purchasing missions, but we are out after Russian trade. We believe that competition is the law of trade, but we pay subsidies to producers till we have more goods than we can consume. We do not believe in dumping, but we practice dumping. We do not believe in organizations which limit production, such as cartels, but we are in favor of international commodity agreements—provided we are in on the agreements.

The same disparity between theory and practice can be found in the individual American trader. He wants to get the government out of business. He sees red whenever the United States Commercial Company is mentioned; he views it as a government agency doing the business which the private trader might be doing, although there is not the remotest chance that the private trader could, in fact, carry on the preclusive buying that the U. S. C. C. was formed to do. On the other hand, when the British trader, gladly using the parallel British organization, the U. K. C. C., gets back much of his pre-war business in the Middle East, where the British have for years carefully sought to satisfy the desires of their customers, the American business man again sees red and wants to know why the government does not help him out!

Other countries are not going to adapt their plans for the future to our wavering pronouncements; nor are they anxious to enmesh their economies so completely with ours that they will be dragged down by the depression which they expect us to have if we do not realize that jobs, like charity, begin at home. They are convinced that we have not yet learned the lesson of the '20's and '30's—namely, that a creditor nation cannot export and refuse to import. The figures on our exports and imports from 1919 to 1929 make sad reading today. Every year except one we had a surplus of exports over imports. Every year our gold holdings increased, until we had most of the world's supply of gold, having drained it out of other countries as payment on their debts and their excess purchases from us. Then all payments stopped, and we had 1929, Hitler, and finally war. Other countries do not want to see this happen again. And they think the wise thing to do is to get along without us. People who are bankrupt do not have to get involved with the money-lenders—not if they are willing to work together and make sacrifices.

In the Wind

AN INTERESTING INDICATION of the effect of overseas service on political opinion is given in the breakdown of the soldier vote in the Canadian election, which has just been released. Canadian soldiers in the European, Near Eastern, and Pacific theaters voted more than 38 per cent for the left-wing C. C. F., the highest figure for any party; the vote of those stationed in Canada was 26 per cent C. C. F. The over-all service vote was 32 per cent C. C. F., as against a civilian vote of 16 per cent.

CYNICAL NEWSPAPERMEN who used to opine that papers carried Mrs. Roosevelt's column, My Day, merely as a sop to the White House, must have been surprised by an advertisement the United Feature Syndicate placed in *Editor and Publisher* on July 14, reporting that seven papers have recently subscribed to the column. This brings the total to eighty-six, the largest number since My Day was begun.

THAT ALLEGEDLY SUGGESTIVE advertisement of bathing suits, which the New York City Board of Transportation ordered out of the subways, can still be seen on the subways of Boston. Here's to the city of Boston, inveterate foe of the book, where freedom to read is restricted indeed, but not so the freedom to look.

SENATOR THEODORE BILBO of Mississippi gave the Senate this summary of his racial views on July 6: "Many persons have been led to believe that I have denounced Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. I have not done anything of the kind. . . . God knows, I am not that narrow or bigoted. . . . Some of the best friends I have in the world are members of the Catholic Church. . . . I have never denounced the Negroes as a race. I have discussed the characteristics of the race. . . . So far as the Jews are concerned, we have Jews in my state, and some of my best friends are Jews."

A NEW ORGANIZATION, the People's Political Action Committee, has been set up in Detroit. In an interview with the Detroit *News* on July 11 its president, James D. Zurcher, said its aim was "to combat the Sidney Hillman organization at every turn." It was launched with a contribution of $100,000 by the People's Committee to Defend Life Insurance and Savings, whose directors, Mr. Zurcher pointed out, are mainly "executives of banks, insurance companies, and industrial establishments." Apparently the only thing the People's PAC hasn't got is the people.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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What Price Independence?

BY E. H. JACOBY

THE joyous celebrations in Manila following the liberation are over. The Filipinos received the Americans as liberators after years of terror and fighting. But the Philippines' real problems are still far from being solved. MacArthur, triumphant as a general, is in close cooperation with the Osmeña government, which has few triumphs to its credit. Every day the black market in Manila defeats the regulations of the American army and the Philippine government. The last record was seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) for one egg.

The Osmeña government carries the political failures of the past into the present. The landlord tradition sublimated by a democratic technic today dominates the Malacañan (the presidential palace in Manila) as completely as in the time of Quezon. Tomas Confessor, former Secretary of the Interior, the only outstanding Filipino leader with a fine guerrilla record, was unlucky as administrator and politician. Today he is a beaten man. He spent his political energy in the fight against the collaborators—an indiscreet course of action in a political atmosphere where the spirit of collaboration was predominant. Manuel Roxas, who was in charge of the Economic Development Board for the Laurel puppet government, has only recently cleared himself of official suspicion. He is the most adroit politician in the Philippines, an excellent speaker, and a clever administrator. Hacienderos and business men see in him their savior from economic and social troubles. For many years he was one of the leading Filipino figures in the negotiations preceding the Tydings-McDuffie act. The youths of the Nacionalista Party consider him their great leader, and luckily for his followers he has been sufficiently cleared to take up the fight against Osmeña for the Presidency in the elections next November. Confessor has been out of the running for some time.

General Romulo's powerful rhetoric at the San Francisco conference has no doubt increased the glory of the Osmeña government in those Manila circles that believe a reputation in world policy can make up for failures on the home front.

Independence has always been a miraculous word in Philippine elections. It was with the slogan of "Independence" that Manuel L. Quezon reached the zenith of power. In the coming election a new slogan will also be used: "Down with the collaborators."

Any campaign against independence is inconceivable. For the masses in the provinces independence means the hope of being freed from the political and economic rule of the landlords. The people are convinced that foreign rule in the Philippines will always favor the ruling class, and their conviction is strengthened by the fact that many political leaders in the Philippines, while publicly demanding immediate independence, inwardly hope for a postponement. These leaders really want to perpetuate the economic bonds with America, which were so favorable for upper-class Filipinos but passed on few benefits to those living on the lowest possible economic level. They fear that economic disturbances and social unrest will be the result of independence. The official program of President Osmeña calls for immediate independence, but he actually hopes to obtain for the Philippines a political status which will guarantee the continuation of the traditional trade relations—that is, the preferential importation of Philippine sugar and copra by the United States. Manuel Roxas, on the other hand, considers himself strong enough to neglect the independence slogan and is realistically emphasizing the idea of economic interdependence. His followers hope that he will fight for dominion status for the Philippines. However, if he should accomplish his purpose, it would mean that America would be guaranteeing the feudal system in the Philippines, politically and economically.

The issue of ousting the collaborators has not the same importance today as it had three months ago. Too much water has flowed under the blasted bridges of the Pasig River since the first exciting days of liberation. In Manila the realists are stronger than the idealists, and Manuel Roxas is triumphant over Tomas Confessor. The Filipinos are being coached in the difference between "good collaborators" and "bad collaborators." They have been told that many officials sacrificed themselves by collaborating with the Japanese and that the life of the guerrillas in the mountains was occasionally less risky and more comfortable than that of collaborators with the Japanese in Manila! The example and propaganda of Manuel Roxas have reinforced this idea. Moreover, it is a fact that the number of efficient officials is very small in the Philippines and that administration would be difficult if this group were really purged of collaborators. Manuel Roxas realized this fact very early, and government officials, intellectuals, and all those who hope to be "cleared" are therefore gathering around him. Thus the issue of guerrillas versus collaborators has ceased to be a clear-cut one. Many men once considered collaborators are now known to have been guerrillas.

Never in the history of the Philippines has an election gone against the ruling class in the government. The power of the feudal system has always been strong enough to guarantee the loyal vote of the dependent masses and so to strengthen the political and economic position of the landlords. The real political battle was always between different cliques within the ruling party. Now, however, a new and significant factor has entered the Philippine scene. The war and the resistance have aroused large sections of the population formerly indifferent to politics. Guerrillas all over the islands are thinking and talking politically—a fact which sooner or later will break up the traditional pattern of life. This political process is most advanced in the Visayan Islands

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and in the provinces of central Luzon. No one who has been able to watch developments during the war years believes that the politicians of Manila, however clever they may be, can in the long run prevent the Filipino masses from dominating the political arena. The democratization of the government is inevitable.

It is doubtful whether these new forces will prevail in the coming election. The Philippines are still controlled by the American army, which of course must maintain peace and order as long as the war against Japan continues. This fact automatically favors the present rule in the Philippines. Therefore it is unlikely that by the time of the election the guerrilla movement in the Visayas, which is strongly influenced by Tomas Confessor, will have made common cause with the masses of the Hukbalahap, the anti-Japanese and radical guerrilla movement in central Luzon, against the political bosses of Manila. Probably the coming campaign will result in a stalemate between the Osmeña group and the followers of Manuel Roxas: Osmeña may remain President and Roxas may become Vice-President. The actual political power would then be concentrated more and more in the younger hands of Roxas.

The future of the Philippines is still an American problem. The best of the Filipino youth fought on the side of America against the Japanese. As a result of this common effort a truly democratic spirit is developing. It is to be hoped that with the return of more normal conditions—after military necessities have ceased to be of primary importance—Americans will realize that they must support the forces of democracy in the Philippines and no longer sustain a political and economic system whose medieval structure affronts American political principles. The rehabilitation of the Philippines, pledged by President Roosevelt in 1943, must be carried out fully, but in a way that will create a well-rounded and sound economy. This will help to diminish the social contrasts and forestall the clashes and bloodshed which threaten today. The years of occupation and war in the Philippines were a severe test for the Filipino nation, and everything possible should be done to eliminate the conditions which might bring on civil war.

The End of Hukbalahap

BY CAPTAIN X

Manila, P. I., June 10

THE left-wing anti-fascists of the Philippines have fared no better than their brothers in other nations. Their lot under Japanese rule was similar to that of resistance fighters under the Nazis. Under their liberators it has been the same as that of their comrades in Italy, Greece, and Belgium.

The left-wing anti-fascist movement here is called Hukbalahap, a word that means "People's Anti-Japanese Army." Unlike the resistance movements in European nations, this one does not have the support of the majority of the people. Its adherents number about 150,000, and its power is concentrated in a few provinces—Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan, and Laguna. A fairly large group is found in Tayabas and a relatively small one in Rizal. These are agricultural provinces suitable for guerrilla warfare.

The origin of the movement is obscure, though it is not accidental that it arose among the peasants, who have long been a militant segment of the Philippine population. Hukbalahap was formally launched on March 29, 1942, by a Socialist named Avisantos, working closely with other capable leftists—Louis Taruc, Costo Alejandrino, Lava, and Fileo. These men led the movement after Avisantos was killed in an engagement with the Japanese. Taruc, now in prison, is commander-in-chief. Under their leadership the Hukbalahap developed into an effective military and political organization. How effective it became can be seen from the Japanese decision to send a large force to central Luzon to destroy it. The expedition was a failure.

After November, 1942, the Huk forces were expanded by the inclusion of the Chinese anti-Japanese guerrilla force known as Wah Chi, which became the 48th Squadron of the Hukbalahap. Wah Chi is composed of Chinese sympathetic to the Communists in Yenan. Sun Yat-sen is their guiding light. (Incidentally, there also exists a large Kuomintang movement here. The two movements are bitterly opposed and have never united in any action.)

The Hukbalahap established a department of civil government soon after its organization. It saw the necessity of mobilizing civilians in the struggle, for it is only by the active support of communities that guerrilla forces can be maintained. Furthermore, it was clear that the people had no confidence in the puppet government. In the provinces mentioned above, therefore, elections were held and governors, mayors, and minor officials chosen. Almost immediately some land reforms were instituted. The properties of large landlords were expropriated and divided among the peasants, who used the land for the production of food. The Counter-Intelligence Corps charges that some landlords were killed. However that may be, the movement's agrarian policy was directed against those collaborationist owners who used the land to produce crops essential to the Japanese war effort, such as cotton. It was through this reform program that the peasants and guerrillas became solidly bound together and the Hukbalahap became a people's movement.

The Huk guerrillas, including the Wah Chi, were the most important group carrying on large-scale, coordinated activities during the occupation. Other bands, sponsored by the United States army and led by Filipino and American regular-army men, limited themselves in the main to intelligence work and preparations for the invasion. But the Huks also coordinated their plans with the invasion; so that when MacArthur landed in Lingayen Gulf, the Huks went on the offensive and liberated San Fernando and other cities.

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Despite the generally excellent work of the Hukbalahap, it has never been recognized as a legitimate organization and never will be. United States army and Filipino officials brand it "Communist." The C. I. C., therefore, is trying to destroy it. The plan for its destruction has as its main features (1) the arrest of important leaders, (2) the quiet and unnegotiated disarmament of the guerrilla forces, (3) the arbitrary disregard of and replacement of the elected representatives of the people. American forces which entered the islands last February did not hesitate to disarm the Huks and remove them from office in local governments. The plan makes no provision for free discussion or other democratic means of settling differences. Hukbalahap was described to me by a C. I. C. officer as a movement dominated by Communist cutthroats who had forced their rule on civilians by threats of punishment and death; there was therefore no possibility of negotiation. The officer openly admitted the plan for destroying the movement. On the other hand, the Huks have been anxious to work with the army and the government. They think of the Americans as allies rather than enemies. Recently they offered two thousand men for use as labor battalions. The unique part of the offer was that no wages were asked—only meals. One thousand of these men have been accepted.

Completely misunderstanding the Huks, the C. I. C. fears an armed uprising aimed at overthrowing the present government. Another C. I. C. officer indicated that one reason the new Philippine army is being whipped into shape so quickly is to thwart such an attempt. Furthermore, the C. I. C. believes the problem has an international aspect. The Soviet Union will be a great power in the Far East and will be closer to the Philippines than the United States is. Therefore a gravitation toward the Soviet Union is anticipated if any left-wing movement gains the ascendancy here.

It may be said that these unrealistic fears have their source in the usual dread and dislike of anything leftist. But despite all charges to the contrary, the Hukbalahap is not essentially Communist. The accusation, which is also brought against the militant labor movement here, is the old trick of vested interests and collaborationists. It is true that many Communists are active in the movement and that there are Communist leaders in many areas. But labor leaders, socialists, and liberal educators also play a prominent role. The result has been a high standard of leadership. Even the C. I. C. has admitted as much and has retained some Huk mayors in office. The now imprisoned commander-in-chief, Louis Taruc, is a former labor leader. Dr. Lava, the movement's political adviser, was formerly professor of political science at the University of Manila. Most of the leaders, like the rank and file, are simply Philippine nationalists. Many have no political convictions but are anti-Japanese and want a redistribution of the land.

Filipino Communists are not simply "land-reform Communists"; they are Marxists and Stalinists. They are a militant, well-disciplined body, whose actions are politically intelligent. Immediately after the occupation they started work among resistance groups in the provinces, with central Luzon their main field. They threw themselves without stint into the complicated problems of sustained resistance, and through hard work, resolute zeal, and organizational ability—with power politics a contributing factor—some of them rose to positions of authority and leadership.

The Huks admit that military and political activities and organizations must be unified, but they want this carried out by consultation and common plan. They wish to give up their independent military organization and become part of the Philippine army but are indignant about the arbitrary plan for disarmament. And if this disarmament is undertaken by force, they may decide to resist. In the political sphere, they recognize that the Philippines cannot have separate and competing governments. What they object to is the arbitrary replacement of their democratically elected representatives and the high-handed manner in which their leaders have been dealt with. Many leaders have been arrested without charges and held without trial. Those still free assert that if the imprisoned men have been guilty of criminal acts, specific charges should be introduced at a fair trial.

In contrast to the treatment of the leftists, some collaborationists have been given clean bills of health by the United States and Commonwealth authorities—although many have been arrested. Filipino, Spanish, and American reactionaries and landowners find favor with the authorities and use their prestige against liberal or radical groups. It does not take much imagination, therefore, to see why a land-reform movement would not be welcomed and why there is strong pressure to have land previously redistributed restored to its "rightful owners." Nor is it difficult to see how any strong political movement to the left of the United States-dominated government would be looked upon as dangerous.

As far as the C. I. C. officers are concerned, they think entirely in terms of "military necessity." On May Day and at various other times Huk supporters staged huge demonstrations in the hope that the authorities would see that the movement had popular support. But while the army occasionally relaxes its policy against the Hukbalahap after such demonstrations, the respite is only temporary. Dissolution appears to be inevitable. But it will not be permanent; new plans and developments are already under way. Even in the November elections there may be significant developments.

Filipino liberals and leftists hope that progressive forces in the United States will establish and maintain relations with them and publicize and support their cause. We dare not fail them. This is the first opportunity America has had to work out, alone and unaided, the difficult problem of establishing democracy in another land. We shall be known by our acts.

[*This is the first of two articles on the Philippines by Captain X. The second will give a detailed account of the issues in this summer's Presidential campaign.*]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

OUR CULTURE AND ITS CRITICS

BY ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

BY ITS qualities and by its defects, by its subject matter and by its manner, Harry Slochower's book "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" (Creative Age Press, $3.75), an ambitious attempt to find main trends in Western culture since Nietzsche, might prompt a discussion of many controversial matters. Nietzsche died in 1900. The world is now nearly fifty years older. Such a book as Mr. Slochower's could be regarded as a pioneer attempt to characterize the twentieth century. With its clearly demarcated discussions, its straightforward procedure, its well-chosen quotations, its broad learning, and its suggestive bibliography, this is the kind of book from which a student might set out on his way around the literature of a century which is now almost half spent. Particularly where Mr. Slochower has special knowledge, as for instance of Thomas Mann and other German subjects, his guidance has distinct value. It is when criticism is pushed beyond this point that misgivings arise.

First, there is Mr. Slochower's "Stalinism." "Stalinism" is a villainous word, the anti-Communist's simple inversion of the Communist use of "Trotskyism." If the concept had reference primarily to Stalin I would be unwilling to fling it in Mr. Slochower's face, but I am told by one who makes free with the term that it now means "cultural conformity tinged with political reformism," and this description, unfortunately, describes Mr. Slochower very well. He does combine an admiration of Soviet Russia and its friends with an easygoing attitude to culture. Bad authors, one cannot help feeling, are treated as respectfully as good. Writers who defend the true philosophy of "communal personality" and "universal culture" have a very fair chance of being ranked with the best. Hence such an undiscriminated list as "Heinrich Mann and Anna Seghers, John Steinbeck and Mikhail Sholokhov, André Malraux and Thomas Mann." The list shows the political colors of the author. I have no objection to the colors, but I find the "Stalinist" way of automatically approving all the "right" books just as offensive as the anti-"Stalinist" way—now more common in liberal and literary journals—of automatically disapproving the same books. When the critic is busy ill-concealing his "Stalinist" or anti-"Stalinist" criterion, a fair-minded discussion of a Leonov, a Malraux, an Aragon, or a Brecht is impossible. It is indeed no longer attempted.

Though there is an occasional footnote in which a fervent anti-"Stalinist" such as "S. Hook" is dismissed, Mr. Slochower's book does not bring the political discussion out into the open. "Three Ways of Modern Man," which Mr. Slochower published in 1937, was a frank book resting quite openly upon the assumptions of current red criticism. "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" is not quite so lucid. Sometimes we have the strange sensation of being back in 1937 again, and we wonder how Mr. Slochower could have been so little affected by what has happened in the meantime. But we also note that Thomas Mann is no longer considered anemically bourgeois. He is included in a new and broader popular front. And so, as the title of the book indicates, is nearly everybody else.

The more narrow-minded Marxism of the thirties was at least clear. This "dialectic humanism" of the "Stalinist" Slochower of 1945 is as fuzzy and pretentious as the celebrated anti-"Stalinism" of Arthur Koestler. In the table of contents the big names glitter and the big words impress. Here we find much towardization: Toward the Communal Personality, Toward a Dialectic Humanism. A good deal of exciting travel: Cosmic Exile; In the Fascist Styx; The Promise of America: John Steinbeck; Midway Passage: Between the Lower Depths and Universal Order; and Through the Lower Depths: Clifford Odets. All accompanied by music: an Overture on Nietzsche, a Roman Prelude, and an Aryan Finale. Unfortunately the sections on individual authors into which the book is divided are often so short that either almost nothing is said—as, for instance, in the sections on T. S. Eliot and Bertolt Brecht—or the argument, when allowed to get under way, as in the section on John Dewey, is annoyingly foreshortened and we have to read such a philosophical cacophony as this: "The result is an equivocal mixture of traditional Idealism and Absolutism with a new relativistic operationalism requiring 'metaphysical' explications."

Mr. Slochower may conceivably have some reason for devoting nine pages to a Werfel and only one to a Shaw. A greater shortcoming is indicated by the contrast between pretentious titles and a thinness of actual content, a thinness that cannot be unconnected with Mr. Slochower's indifference to matters of taste. The question arises: Is Mr. Slochower interested in those parts of culture which are ends in themselves—the arts—or only in problems of means, that is, of ethics? It is true that the arts cannot be pursued purely for their own sake, that they are intertwined with other phenomena, including ethics. Yet in our time we are frequently confronted with critics for whom ethics is an obsession. Their attitude is that of Lenin infuriated by the amiability of a Beethoven quartet. Lenin we can excuse since he was busy planning a revolution. Our academic activists are not. Can one not ask these secular puritans what they will do with their good society when they get it? Can one not be suspicious of a cultural critic for whom a Proust represents "the promise of America"? Are we not back here among the frightened Philistines? Is this not the healthy, wholesome uplift of all our cultural salvationists?

The moralist as cultural historian is a bull in a china shop. The arts are for him no more artistic than for the schoolboy who extracts Latin grammar from Vergil. He extracts his uplift. He makes his pilgrimages and voyages and quests through lower depths and all the way round his cosmic transcendences, and finally he reaches his up-to-date celestial city. How could he fail to? The whole scheme is

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cooked up for that purpose. We begin with Nietzsche and a chaos of values, we go through the lower depths, and we end up "towardizing" for all we are worth in the direction of a synthesis of everything that is lovely and of good report. And we are such good cooks that no odd or end is wholly lost. It's magnificent, but it's not cultural history, it's not criticism, it's not cricket. It's uplift. And if these are rough words, let me append here some ideas about the alternative to uplift.

Artistic material is better, not worse, material for the cultural historian than bluebook material because in the arts, and only in the arts, can the past be apprehended in living, organic forms. But we cannot write the history of the arts merely by listing names and addresses, births, deaths, and marriages, clichés, labels, and decorative adjectives—in the manner of the "Cambridge History of English Literature." Nor can we write the history of the arts by performing operations on them and extracting ideas with the surgical violence of Mr. Slochower or his friend Kenneth Burke. The medieval mind is one thing in treatises on "the legacy of the Middle Ages"; it is quite another (it even begins to make sense) in the "Confessio Amantis" or the "Roman de la Rose." The modern mind is one thing in these precious interpretations with their high hopes and their high hats. It is another in "A la Recherche du temps perdu," and another still, alas, in "Cannery Row." In our historian's scheme the development from one to another is called progress. There must be something wrong with the scheme.

The cultural historian is either just another philosopher let loose among the arts, which he finds awfully obvious compared with Kant, or he is a man who can write the history of types of experience, of sentiment, and of sensibility. But he cannot do this unless he has *had* the experiences, unless he has savored the sentiment and assimilated the sensibility. Cultural history not based, or partly based, upon such first-hand experience is mere shadow-boxing. The great shadow-boxers of today are the literary Ph.D.'s who write the history of labels and the philosophers rampant who do not even write the history of their own rampages but make out of hearsay and philosophic jargon something that sounds like something.

If the test of a literary critic is what he makes of an unsigned poem, the test of the historical critic or true historian is what he makes of the only unsigned, unticketed period in history—our own time. By what touchstone shall we judge him? In my view there is no correct version of history for the government or anybody else to authorize. We need as many versions as there are competent minds to devise them. But there are at least two versions we do *not* need. One is the optimistic version—from the lower depths to the higher synthesis—which we have recently been fed by Lewis Mumford, Erich Kahler, and Mr. Slochower. The other is the pessimistic version, which is the prerogative of ex-Communists, neo-Catholics, egocentric refugees, all the elegant or ferocious brood of Oswald Spengler.

Optimism and pessimism are rival poses. The last postwar generation, our fathers, left us a large assortment of both. Can we not decline to accept the legacy? The question is larger than my present theme. But it is not irrelevant to it. Our culture will not be saved by historians, but the writing of cultural history can perhaps be redeemed if we discard the fads and fetishes of a generation that is coming to look antediluvian. The new post-war generation will doubtless develop its own limitations in time; meanwhile let us hope that new life will be possible. There is some little evidence, for example, that the Ph.D. octopus may be checked, and that the universities after the war will demand men who are teachers and critics of life rather than bibliographers. But now I am myself growing optimistic. I shall soon be writing that they will beat their swords into plowshares and their *PMLA's* into *Kenyon Reviews*.

The Algiers Coup

CONSPIRACY IN ALGIERS. By Renée Pierre-Gosset. The Nation. $1.*

THE English title of Mme Gosset's unbelievable but true inside story of how and why a liberation was transformed into a libel of liberty is more revealingly appropriate than the French original, "Le Coup d'Alger." For the tragedy of the North African invasion was the betrayal of the democratic French patriots into the power of the reactionary conspirators. The plot that paved the way for the American landings, says Mme Gosset, was the work of several thousand men "divided as was France by quarrels and even by political hatreds, yet associated in the common interest of the nation." But on the very eve of the landings Robert D. Murphy, who master-minded the preparations on a personal directive from the late President Roosevelt, "altered his plans and rejected the French support previously used by him. . . . At the very moment when General Eisenhower [in Gibraltar], delighted at having at last convinced General Giraud, was assuring him of fullest support . . . Murphy was signing with Admiral Darlan in Algiers." Both the liberals and democrats on the one hand and the reactionaries, monarchists, and Cagoulards on the other had shared in the preparations which Mme Gosset describes with a wealth of fascinating and accurate detail until now unavailable in this country. Then Murphy, strong in the certainty of White House approval, transformed what might have been the start of the emancipation of a people into a putsch of a palace guard, and turned aside with a smile while the backstairs intriguers, political gangsters, technicians of the coup d'état stabbed in the back the real artificers of the *coup d'Alger*.

Mme Gosset tells the whole ugly story—or at least as much as can be told while military-security limitations are still operative—and tells it fairly, objectively, and well. We, the Americans, "made" Darlan, created the power of Darlanism for reasons of short-term military expediency, and later, when reasons of long-term political policy as well as simple honesty and decency should have dictated unmaking Darlanism, we deliberately adopted it as our fixed policy. We treated France as though it were Nicaragua: on the day Darlan was allowed to issue an "imperial proclamation" as "Chief of State," Murphy in the name of General Eisenhower dismissed as "petty divergences" the differences between a monarchist neo-fascism and democracy.

Darlanism, comments Mme Gosset, "far exceeds the lim-

* This book can be obtained only from *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

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its of a temporary expedient, of a last-minute substitute, of a clever stratagem. It falls quite naturally into the general policy of the State Department toward the whole of Europe.

In the absence of principle, personality played a major role; so Mme Gosset, after setting her stage with an analysis of the political situation in Vichy and the psychological atmosphere in Algiers, combines sound journalism with keen insight in a brilliant dissection of the protagonists of the drama: General Weygand, who was Murphy's first choice but who funked when the test came; Admiral Fenard, the "key to the Darlan mystery," who weathered every political storm; General Donovan's cape-and-dagger boys—Knox, Knight, Rounds, Boyd, Pendar—who under State Department "cover" and Murphy's orders acted out a romantic thriller combining elements of E. Phillips Oppenheim and Eric Ambler with Frank Merriwell and the Rover Boys; Henri d'Astier de la Vigerie, "occult leader" of the resistance, a Royalist *condottiere* who was also a sincere patriot; Jean Rigault, malevolent, opium-smoking *deus ex machina*, and his master, the reactionary millionaire Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil; and scores of others. Most brilliantly successful of the portraits are the villains of the piece: Murphy, the spokesman for democracy with a taste and flair for recreating the atmosphere of the Faubourg Saint Germain and confusing it with France; Darlan, wealthy, cynical, intelligent, who early chose the ladder of opportunist politics; Giraud, "pure soldier," who twice escaped from the Germans only to surrender to the French fascists.

Mme Gosset stresses that whereas the pact with Darlan may be defended, the subsequent betrayal of French democracy was criminal and unnecessary. Months after the invasion "the worst Vichy men were still in power"; with American acquiescence, the Giraudists were outdoing the Darlanists in oppressing those patriots "who had daily risked their lives while preparing the landings." And, she concludes, two and a half years after the "liberation" the disastrous moral result of the State Department's policy is alienating the whole of Europe and creating a "European isolationism which constitutes an obvious danger for the peace of the world for years to come."

"Conspiracy in Algiers" is a book every friend of democratic freedom should read and not only because of the historical facts it so ably recounts. It is important because Admiral Leahy is now more than ever the *éminence grise* of American foreign policy, because Robert Murphy is still the chosen instrument of that policy, because the subordination of moral purpose to unprincipled technique of power is still draining the reservoir of American prestige throughout the world.

But lest any reader of the book assume that the responsibility for "betrayal in Algiers" was only Murphy's or even that of the State Department, the writer of these lines can give assurance that the facts—all the facts—were in the possession of the White House. On page 225 Mme Gosset says "we shall never know more" about a certain "mission to Washington." Let Mme Gosset be informed: the mission failed because Darlanism had then, and still appears to have, the approval of the White House. To paraphrase the late and unlamented Benito Mussolini, democracy does not appear to be an article of export.

PERCY WINNER

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Example of Tolstoy

TIKHON POLNER'S "Tolstoy and His Wife" (W. W. Norton, $2.75), translated from the Russian by Nicholas Wreden, is probably the best biographical study of the great Russian novelist now available in English. The relationship between Tolstoy and his wife had all the intensity and gravity of a drama wholly existential, marked throughout by experiences of anxiety, care, and significant choice. Hence this relationship provides the perfect framework for a biographical essay. Polner was a friend of the Tolstoy family, and in his account of Tolstoy's personality and career he exhibits the finest insight and mastery of the factual material. He is blessedly free of the modern biographer's mania for "coloring" and "fictionizing" the material at the expense of the facts. This is one biography where no demands are made upon us to believe things for which there is no evidence.

A good part of the book is devoted to an analysis of Tolstoy's religious experience—an experience peculiarly relevant to our time, when many people, by no means the least vocal among us, are once more endeavoring to recapture one or another form of religious awareness. The lesson of Tolstoy is not encouraging to such endeavors, however. For Tolstoy, whose conversion began with a strict adherence to Orthodox practices and dogmas, was soon compelled to think his way through to various heretical versions of the Christian faith until his search came to an end in the sharply self-limiting adoption of a few ethical precepts. Polner shows that the Gospel, too, "lost its special significance, and Tolstoy's ardor for it cooled." Finally, even the concepts of God and immortality ceased to hold any real meaning for him. In his diary he questioned himself whether he actually believed that the purpose of life was to obey God's will and to prepare for the future life. Was it really true that God desires love and unity to grow within the individual and within the entire world? He replied that "instinctively" he could not believe "anything so definite." "What, then, do I believe? I answered in all sincerity that I believe one must be good and humble, one must forgive and love." These articles of faith are of an exalted moral content, but there is nothing in them that contradicts a naturalistic reading of man's position in the universe.

Our contemporary god-seekers, so newly self-confident in their aspirations, would do well to ponder the example of Tolstoy.

PHILIP RAHV

Canada's C. C. F.

NATION READERS HAVE had a fairly good introduction to the C. C. F., but all of them would profit from reading M. J. Coldwell's "Left Turn, Canada" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.75) to fill out their picture of a socialist coalition of farmers, workers, and middle-class liberals operating in a political scene not unlike that of the United States. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, of which Mr. Coldwell is parliamentary leader, constitutes the government of one Canadian province, Saskatchewan, and in the recent national election increased its representation at Ottawa from

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ten to twenty-eight members and doubled its popular vote. It had expected to do better. In his book Mr. Coldwell presents the political philosophy and aims of the C. C. F. Much of the material is taken from parliamentary speeches and public addresses, and in consequence the reader is let in on the actual debate of such political issues as conscription, war labor policy, big business and the war, Canada and the British Commonwealth, post-war planning. The book gives a picture of Canada which is a little more balanced than official releases or the romantic blurbs of lady tourists. With respect to domestic policy there is no doubt where the C. C. F. is headed. It wants a planned economy directed toward specific social objectives, making full use of Canada's natural resources, and guaranteeing social security and a high standard of living to the majority of Canadians. Beveridge would in general approve; Hayek would hate it. In fact Hayek, through his countless big-business disciples and interpreters, was probably the C. C. F.'s most formidable opponent in the last election. Some day soon Coldwell should do a definitive political study of Canada, because, made up as it is from speeches, the present book lacks integration and focus. Moreover, badly needed is a sympathetic but objective study of the C. C. F. itself as a political party; it has made impressive gains and has numerous opportunities but, we suspect, it has still a lot to learn in the field of political strategy. Such a study would be of immense benefit to American progressives, who face many of the same post-war dangers as the C. C. F. and who also share its opportunities for post-war gains.

KING GORDON

FICTION IN REVIEW

ONE need not be entirely sympathetic to the literary method of Paul Goodman, one may indeed be opposed on principle to fiction which denies us the emotional satisfactions of more traditional writing, and still find much to admire in Mr. Goodman's collection of short pieces "The Facts of Life" (Vanguard, $2.50). Among writers of the non-realistic persuasion, Mr. Goodman is unusually well-educated, imaginative, and witty, and even though, as we follow him from piece to piece, his unremitting literacy and cleverness become a bit wearing, this virtuosity must be to some extent excused as an excess of virtue. Mr. Goodman's volume contains at least one story, the title story, which is entirely delightful, and a play, Jonah, about the prophet of doom, which is both comic and wise. The fact that the collection as a whole falls short of these two items doesn't of course diminish Mr. Goodman's stature in relation to other writers of his convention. It does, however, tend to confirm an old suspicion that even the method of non-realism cannot forfeit story-telling to disputation and still be sustaining.

A few years ago I wrote a brief notice of Mr. Goodman's novel "The Grand Piano," in which I asked why Da-Da novels were always such ma-ma novels. I was referring especially to the self-commiserating tone of that book, a tone which is happily absent from the present volume. But I also referred to an infantilism which I think is still basic to Mr. Goodman's work, however adult its preoccupations may seem. This immaturity can best be defined as a refusal to accept responsibility, an unwillingness to make any commitments.

It is an attitude toward life and art which is amusing and not even unhopeful in the very young, but which has a disconcerting way of appearing as merely a trick for trying to stay young when it persists too long and when it even evolves a *form* so well designed for the assertion of intellectual and moral superiority. Obviously I do not imply that all methods of non-conformity are methods of irresponsibility; I do think, however, that there is a degree of acceptance of our common responsibilities without which the dignity of protest is, if only subtly, threatened.

And perhaps a sound measure of a writer's acceptance of his environment is in the extent to which he keeps his protest within the realm of satire. Satire always suggests the possibility of the desirable, but the author of "The Facts of Life," in common with the surrealists, is much more nihilist than satirist. Even in A Ceremonial, which is about a Utopia, when Mr. Goodman names some of his good things of life—children, trees, baseball, the late quartets of Beethoven—all of which he describes with an idyllic charm, his pervasive tone is one of mocking his own utopianisms. At first glance, this turn on himself, this persistent double edge of irony, may give the impression of complexity, but actually, as we examine it, it comes to look rather more like self-protection; we get the sense, that is, of a personality determined to do the rejecting before it is itself rejected. As a matter of fact, in the story The Canoeist this is more than a sense; here Mr. Goodman's impulse to self-protection is openly, even consciously, stated.

I could wish to avoid using the word negativism to describe this dominant note of Mr. Goodman's work. The opposite of negativism is taken, these days, to mean the announcement of a program, and it is clearly one of the refreshments of "The Facts of Life" that it has no program. Nevertheless, Mr. Goodman's excessive mood of attack, his need to assert himself above our common survival and benefit, often renders his thrusts pointless—which is what we must finally mean by negativism. For instance, in the story University in Exile Mr. Goodman is describing a dinner party at an American home attended by an assorted group of refugees, and he makes the following comment on the lack of appetite of one of the foreign guests: "She was puzzled whether the meat was pork, veal, or horse. It was lamb, soaked for three days in buttermilk"; and one wonders against whom the exaggeration is intended—against the hostess for the extravagance of her culinary art, or against the guest whose sophistication is unequal to such reaches of cookery. We reach the conclusion, and not from these few lines alone, nor only from this story, but from the volume as a whole, that everyone is mocked—hostess, guest, and even reader, everyone except the author himself, who alone remains inviolate, strong in his advanced knowledge of lamb soaked in buttermilk but immune to such snobbish blandishments. The University in Exile, by the way, in its entirety is also the most blatant instance of Mr. Goodman's offense against charity. For surely the courage to write of refugees as if they were as economically and socially determined as other people would not be undermined, it could only be strengthened, by an instinct of sympathy for their displaced lives.

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On the other hand, there is the title story of the book, the best piece Mr. Goodman reprints and quite exempt from this criticism. The Facts of Life is an account of what goes on in the mind of a nine-year-old upon discovering she is Jewish. Making the best literary use I know of clinical Freudian material, it is a wonderful excursion into the unconscious realm where the first knowledge of Jewishness merges with the already old knowledge of femaleness into an extremely witty and fearful elaboration of the castration fantasy. It is a fragrant story, communicating a complete fictional experience, unique in the volume for the human overtones it is able to set up. In trying to account for its quality, the idea is bound to occur to one that perhaps it is explained by the part that a familiar reality is allowed to play in its conception: the child's sex, age, religion, and class may be points of departure for the author's fancy, but they are points fixed with an unusual firmness in an accepted and acceptable world. By even this much of a fond acceptance of some dominion above the dominion of self Mr. Goodman does his gifts a great service—as he himself would seem to recognize by naming his whole volume from this single story, which is, in important ways, its anti-principle.

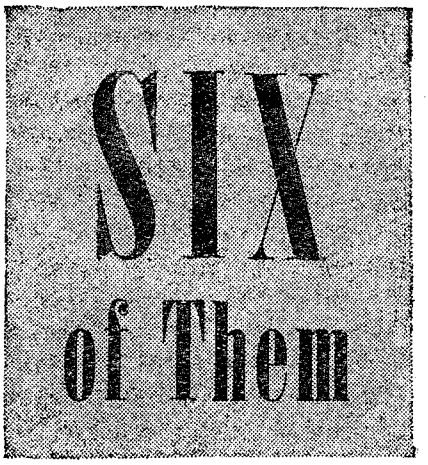
DIANA TRILLING

"Tomorrow's Small House"

MODERN architecture has acquired some powerful new friends—the mass-circulation magazines. Where will they carry it? They realize that they have hold of something good and are outdoing themselves to put it over in their own lavish way.

From among the countless plans, models, and color reproductions through which this purpose is being accomplished, the most convenient to study are those produced through the collaboration of the *Ladies' Home Journal* with the Museum of Modern Art and with an imposing list of modern architects. Here the "art work" at least, leaves nothing to be desired in its vivid and charming faithfulness. The original models, on display through the summer at the Museum in New York, have been fashioned with watch-making fidelity and love, some by Devon Dennett, some by Raymond Barger Studios, on a scale of one inch to the foot, which means that a house seventy-five feet long is reproduced at the length of an ordinary bed or long table. Each model brings to life not only a house but the surrounding grounds; the trees and shrubbery are reproduced not by the accustomed sickly green sponges but by remarkable dwarf-plant material; and the interiors are complete down to the last teacup in its tiny saucer.

The collection indicates unmistakably, first of all, that the men who set out to destroy architectural "styles" have succeeded, in the course of twenty years, in creating one. All the houses are low and sharply cut. All throw great sheets of glass to sunward. All move in the large, clear, repetitive rhythm of the standard module. All but two are a single story high, and turn themselves indoors out in such a manner that an occupant could walk out of almost any part directly on to grass—or on to ice and snow. Every example speaks in the common vocabulary, which is crisp and purged and pol-



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ished. The term "modern" architecture now belongs in quotes, having achieved an identity, a manner, a look, that can easily be recognized by a broad public. It is this which renders "modern" architecture eligible for the new large-scale promotion, and, indeed, the common method of working will alone make possible large-scale production.

Less fortunate than a standardized method of work is the standard attitude which is taken toward methods of family living. It is unlikely that the group of leading architects represented could all independently have arrived at so nearly the same concept, an unimaginative one. It is easier to believe that there was close supervision by some unidentified top-side editor or other public-relations man who thought that he knew a great deal more about "public acceptance" than any mere architect. At any rate, all the houses are based on substantially the same schedule of rooms: first, a living-dining-kitchen combination, thrown always into an "open planning" area; then one or more small bedrooms for children and a large master bedroom for the parents; finally, a plentitude of sanitary facilities and a garage or carport. The interpretation supplied by the architects tends, as the Museum booklet remarks, to an elongated rectangular plan. This might better be called a "Pullman" plan, with all the main rooms strung along one side of a long corridor but with the difference that one or two auxiliary spaces such as bathrooms and carports may be placed on the other side.

How might a family live in such a house? It is to be feared that this kind of plan is just as conventional by now as the stock "Colonial" plan. If the house is really small, then the social rooms in the "open planning sequence" are not big enough, for example, to fool the radio. If the noise-loving children are to occupy this area, driving out the parents, then the furniture is too good for what they will want of it. If the good furniture is to be occupied by the parents, then the children are driven either entirely out of the house or into tiny cubicles marked "children's rooms," which generally are not big enough to play in, or, upon achievement of adolescence by the children, to entertain in. The absence of any usable equivalent for the old attic and basement, so essential to family life, negates much of the aesthetic charm. "Open planning" can become an empty shibboleth.

If the magazine and the museum have fostered better style than might be expected, they have fostered poorer planning. Another note should be made on cost. Although the sponsors talk glibly about a housing program embracing 1,250,000 dwellings a year (one-fourth more than the best yet), and although they point to a large middle group of families receiving $2,000 to $3,000 annually and able to lay aside $4,000 to $6,000 for a house, the exhibit itself bears no appreciable relation to any such program. In the judgment of qualified architects, most of the models exhibited would fall entirely outside this cost range, and a client would be lucky to build the most ambitious one for a cent under $30,000 today. The Museum begs the issue; but is this wise? The Museum puts forth its exhibit as something obtainable with "full use" of our "present potentialities." "Modern" architecture should stop leaning on the invisible, or on the future. "Modern" architecture is twenty years old and should accept the responsibilities of maturity, dealing with here and now.

A bad effect of using purely hypothetical costs is that architects avoid making realistic choices in detail. For example, the typical "open" plan of the Museum show is intrinsically costly. It demands much ground, so that neighbors may not stare in at every glass wall. A single story demands nearly twice as much expensive roof as two. A spread-out arrangement involves much periphery to be maintained and, in all but the balmier climates, to be heated: like the naked Indian, some of these houses are "all face." Superimposed on the costliness of novel detailing is the cost of greater tightness required by the big exterior surface and by the fine lines. For lack of close attention to costs, the architect's own best effects can be turned against him. For example, through open planning it has been possible to obtain an expressive big social room out of an area formerly occupied by a separate living-room, dining-room, and kitchen; and by the magic of glass it has been possible to add the out-of-doors to this living space, psychologically. Yet if costs

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run high, there will be an irresistible temptation to shrivel the actual dimensions, putting dependence on the illusion, until in the end the psychological space and the space outside are paid for out of space inside that might have been physically real and highly useful.

Fortunately there are architects who do pay strict attention to cost relationships, and one of them, Vernon de Mars, produced the exceptional house of the exhibit. It is two stories high, saving ground and roof. At some sacrifice of cross-ventilation, neighbors economize greatly by sharing the party wall. A basement might be a help, but at least the boys have a bedroom as large as the parents'. Sanitary facilities of a not too ambitious kind are nicely related not only to bedrooms but to work spaces such as kitchen, garden, and car. The house looks very pleasant, and so does the long back garden on a modest 30x100 lot. Significantly enough, the plan is the old four-square Colonial plan, except that the family car is stowed in what would have been the library.

There are other good examples to hand, many of them, not forgetting the workable little country house designed for *McCall's* in June by Wurster and Bernardi. But perhaps it may be said that "public-relations modern," having achieved a clear vocabulary and the means of aesthetic charm, must begin to turn realistic about families and about costs. The only future it can count on now is what it makes.

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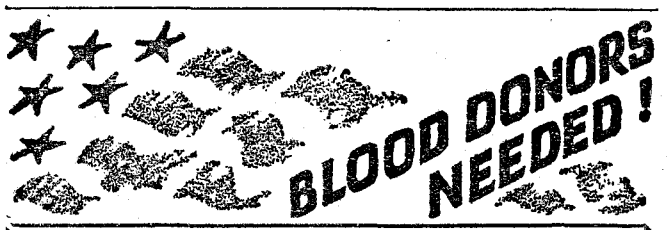

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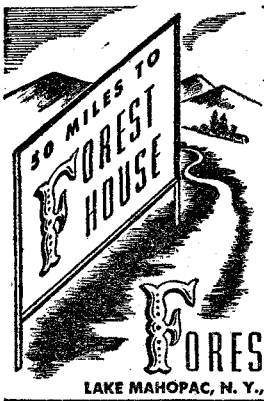

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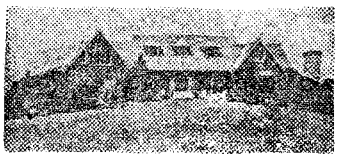

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MY ADMIRATION for Schnabel's playing has represented perception of his powers, not blindness to his weaknesses. In no other pianist's performances have we heard the sharp contours and subtle inflection of phrase, the clearly outlined structure of Schnabel's best performances; but he has occasionally chosen a tempo that was too slow or too fast, or not maintained it steadily, or pushed the expressiveness of a phrase to the point of distorting its form, or driven fortissimos beyond the limits of agreeable sound. And ever since his year's retirement for meditation and writing there have been occasional performances like the broadcast one of Beethoven's Concerto No. 3 with the New York Philharmonic on June 17, in which it was evident that he had not taken the trouble to achieve mastery of his fingers in the playing of the notes—a mastery without which there was imperfect execution not only of passage-work but of subtle phraseological inflection. The performance was like a ruin of the great performance in the Victor set.

The first of the Stadium Concerts ballet nights offered "Leonide Massine's Ballet Russe Highlights." The company is a little group of six principals: Massine, Lazovsky, Eglevsky, Baronova, Anna Istomina, Kathryn Lee; its repertory comprises bits of the old ballet repertory and a number of pieces newly created by Massine. Of the new things I saw the Russian, Polish, and Bohemian Dances, in which Massine merely arranged national steps, were engaging; but the others—whether serious, like "Vision" to Bach's Air for G string, and "The Warrior" to Rachmaninov's G minor Prelude; or humorous, like "Première Polka" and "At the Dentist"; or fanciful, like "Bumble Bee" to the Rimsky-Korsakov piece, and "Contr-danses" to Beethoven's music—are rubbish.

The old things I saw were the "Nutcracker" *pas de deux,* danced by Baronova and Eglevsky, the "Blue Bird" *pas de deux,* danced by Istomina and Eglevsky, "Le Spectre de la rose," danced by Baronova and Eglevsky, the Barman's Dance from "Union Pacific," danced by Massine, and the finale of "Capriccio Espagnol," danced by the entire group.

In the performances the men stood

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out—each in his own style—as the great dancers they are. Eglevsky, hampered by new partners and other unfavorable conditions, did not reach his top form of last season, but did some beautiful classical dancing. On the other hand Massine's presence and subtle art exercised their effect even under unfavorable conditions. And Lazovsky's theater and dance brilliance—the ease, the incisive and continuous rhythm of his soaring and whirling—also was unaffected by those conditions.

Every score of Aaron Copland shows his technical expertness and assurance; but these do not in every instance produce a piece of music that is enjoyable or interesting; and for me "Appalachian Spring" is one of the instances in which they do not. It is, of course, music for a stage work; and it may be that what I didn't enjoy in the music was related to what I didn't enjoy in Martha Graham's choreography. I had, not long before, heard a few young ladies fresh from Vassar exclaim over the artificiality of classic ballet and its limitations as an expressive medium as compared with modern dance; but I was much more aware of artificiality and limitations in the grim, angular prancing that I saw Martha Graham's company do at Bennington some years ago, and again in the more genial "Appalachian Spring" recently; and I suggest that those young ladies look at classic ballet next time with these observations of Edwin Denby in mind: "The expressive virtue of any dancing is its rhythm, and its rhythm is felt only in continuities (or phrases) of movement that offer the audience variations of bodily impetus clearly set in relation to a fixed space. And these long phrases of movement convey the specific meaning of the ballet—its drama. As the impetus of successive phrases of music suggest to the hearer a particular quality of emotion and thought, so the successive phrases of a ballet suggest to the observer a particular quality of human action. When you watch a girl moving about a room you sometimes guess what the quality of movement 'means.' It is not that she expresses herself by making handies; she does it by the rhythm of her actions. We often understand animals that way and they us. And in love we all know how dramatic such a moment of understanding is. It seems to tell more than any words and say it more irrevocably. And this is the natural phenomenon on which the art of ballet is built as a convincing human expression."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Two Forms of Fascism

Dear Sirs: The present war is often called a war against fascism. This has been agreed upon by people holding a great variety of political and economic beliefs. I feel that this agreement is less complete than it seems because of the variety of connotations the term has gained in the last decade.

It seems to me that fascism as it has been practiced in Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and Argentina has had two phases. The first might be called the ideological phase; it has been presented to us by the ministers of propaganda of the fascist nations as Nazism, Fascism, Shintoism, and Phalangism. As an ideology fascism usually involves some or all of the following ideas and institutions—dictatorship by one party, a Führer, Duce, or Emperor, a master race, the subjugation of the individual to the state, the loss of civil liberties, a scapegoat for the ills of the country, an expansionist national policy, indoctrination of youth and early military training, the suppression of grass-roots Christianity often coupled with the substitution of some form of paganism, and the exaltation of intense nationalism. The second phase represents a situation which developed to a greater extent in Germany and Italy than in the other fascist nations. I refer to the way in which the vested interests, the land and property owners, and, in general, the privileged classes used the first phase of fascism, which was supported by a fanatical minority, as a lever with which to control the policies of the nation and suppress popular uprisings, people's parties, and other movements seeking to change the status quo. Two questions which might incidentally be considered at this point are: Was it reasonable, in the light of history, to expect that the second phase would follow the first? Are there forces in all capitalist nations which are always on the alert for a movement which might be used as a lever for the second phase of fascism?

I know some people have never included the second phase of fascism in their thinking on the subject. They see in fascism nothing more than a large-scale Ku Klux Klan or Silver Shirts organization. There are those in any country who find themselves potentially in the position of the groups who have used the first phase of fascism as a lever, and they find it easy in their own minds to justify such action. In condemning fascism they would be careful to lay all the stress on the first phase. Consequently the arrest and punishment of a Goebbels or a Himmler would be made to appear of much greater importance than that of a Krupp or a Thyssen. I myself stress rather the danger of the second phase because of its greater power for evil. I think that clearing up the haziness between these two phases of fascism would bring into the open in this country as well as among our allies the real issues of this war.

OWEN C. THOMAS

Washington, D. C., July 17

Giving Life to the Court

Dear Sirs: The prestige of the World Court must be established. Therefore when it has been set up and is ready to function, why should not an armistice be sought with Japan with the declared intention of submitting the whole question of The United States and the British Empire vs. Japan to the court for its decision?

Such a procedure would seem to be desirable for two reasons: (1) We are a people who believe in law and justice. Therefore we would derive more satisfaction from any decision handed down in a court of justice than from the most severe penalty which could be imposed upon Japan by force of arms. (2) The strength and authority of the World Court will, at the start, depend upon the willingness of the people of the world to submit to its verdicts. To have a case of the importance of Japan's aggression laid before the court at its very inception would establish a precedent that would be the breath of life to this instrument which we have conceived in order to maintain the peace of the world.

ALFRED A. KING

Lincoln, Neb., July 16

News from France

[*The following letter was received by a member of the* Nation *staff from a former fighter in the resistance in France.*]

My brother Jean came home four days ago after five years in German prison camps. He would have arrived earlier but he contracted typhus en route. The

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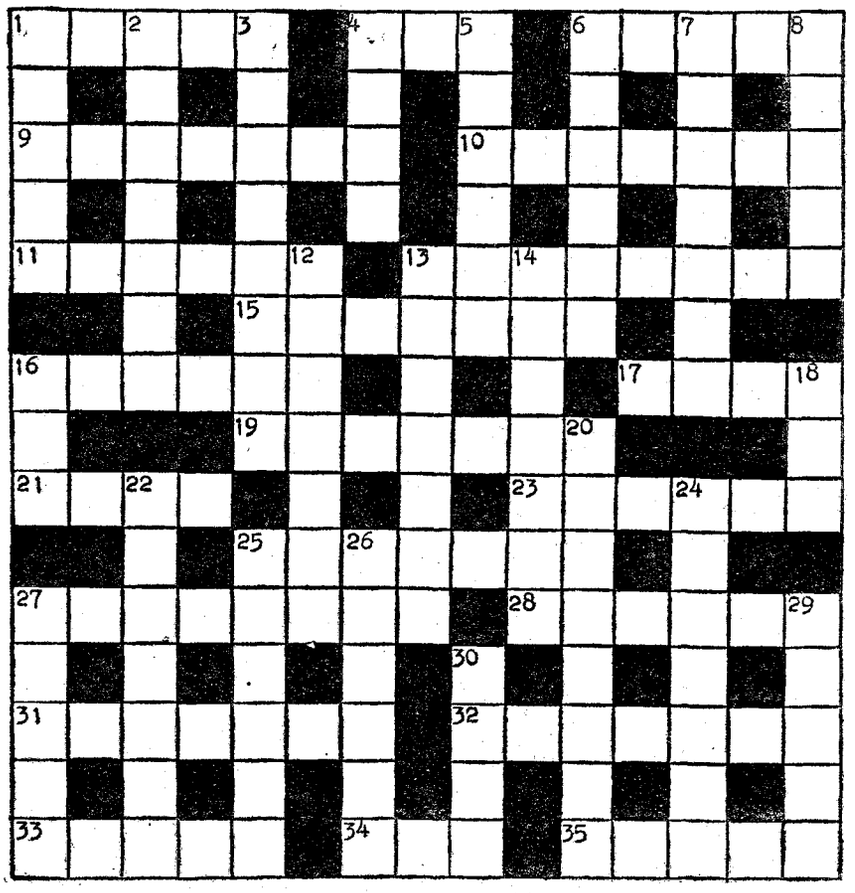
Crossword Puzzle No. 122

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Home sweet home to someone
4 Cheek
6 May adorn a tale
9 Sounds like rain (hyphen, 3-1-3)
10 Goes to bed (two words, 5 and 2)
11 "Gorgeous Georges" Carpentier's favorite flower
13 Time indefinitely
15 He loves an argument
16 "The moving ------ writes; and having writ, moves on"
17 Has been defined as "nothing divided by two"
19 Children make chains of these flowers
21 Head down, eye on the ball, slowly back, and don't press. That's it!
23 Stuff straw hats are made of
25 "One who contends for a prize in public games" (dictionary)
27 This should reduce the swelling
28 Second tallest tower in the world
31 Out of the ordinary
32 Stuff porridge is made of
33 A European capital
34 Kind of bread, or whiskey
35 Chinese

DOWN

1 "I thought I saw a banker's clerk descending from an omnibus: I looked again and then I saw it was a -----potamus"
2 I will be found between two containers in Rome.
3 Heavier on one side than on the other
4 Deceased
5 Sounds like a motor-boat (hyphen, 3-3)
6 Keeps bricks together yet keeps them apart
7 He lived in comfortable retirement for 39 years after writing *William T"ell*
8 A change of linen for a former Russian dictator
12 Disorder
13 Mother and boys demand fruit
14 The other side includes a reserve
16 Nature's blackout
18 This horse hasn't a leg to stand on
20 More than satisfies
22 Belgian province where they make that effluvial cheese
24 A number often mentioned by cribbage players
25 Wake up!
26 He who had the care of horses at an inn
27 Symptomatic of some throat or chest trouble
29 Palely-purplish flower
30 How many legs has an octopus?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 121

ACROSS:—1 BRAINS; 5 FLATTOP; 10 GRACE-NOTE; 11 APTLY; 12 ATHALIE; 13 SEABELL; 14 TABLE; 16 HI-JACKERS; 18 HANSEATIC; 20 SARAH; 22 MUMMERS; 24 SORGHUM; 26 OKAPI; 27 FURNITURE; 28 KISSERS; 29 TWENTY.

DOWN:—2 ROACH; 3 ICEFLOE; 4 SHOVEL HAT; 5 FLEAS; 6 ARAMAIC; 7 TO THE REAR; 8 PHYLLIS; 9 AGHAST; 15 BY NO MEANS; 17 JACK SPRAT; 18 HEMLOCK; 19 EREMITE; 20 SERVICE; 21 HAMLET; 23 SOFAS; 25 HAUNT.

Nazis made good use of his medical training: he worked in fifteen different camps! During that time he helped hundreds of prisoners to escape. Toward the end a large number of politcial deportees—Germans, Poles, Serbs, Czechs, and Frenchmen—were transferred to his camp. His job was to sort out the corpses each morning, an average of two hundred a day. Some were in a frightful state, for during the night the living had tried to eat them. Some of our friends have recently returned from Buchenwald or Auschwitz. The very sight of them makes one shiver.

When you look around, you can't help feeling a sense of disquiet about the future of this world. Where are the solutions that can keep this from ever happening again? It's high time to concern ourselves about a few of the Nazis in France, England, and the United States, as well as in Germany. There are still many in France, but they've gone underground so well that it is difficult to dig them out.

In France things aren't going too well—two million homes destroyed, no coal, nothing to eat. We'd like to explain to the American High Command that it is slightly indecent to feed German prisoners better rations than the French civilians are eating today.

The San Francisco conference seemed like a game of blind man's bluff in a dark room. What will come out of it? We're beginning to wonder whether we shan't wake up one morning five years from now to find that some of the United Nations are allied with Germany. A. R.

Paris, May 19

CONTRIBUTORS

MEYER LEVIN has recently returned from Europe, where he was a correspondent for the Overseas News Agency.

JOACHIM JOESTEN is the author of "What Russia Wants" and the forthcoming "The Nazis at Bay."

ROBERT CHANDLER is the pseudonym of a Washington economist.

UMA SHANKAR is an Indian journalist now in the United States.

E. H. JACOBY has recently returned to this country after having been interned by the Japanese in Manila during the occupation.

CAPTAIN X served as an American officer throughout the campaign on Luzon and had full opportunity to study the "People's Anti-Japanese Army."

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